National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

BY REV. S. H. MORSE.

THE close of the war placed the country in a position to fairly survey the field, and decide upon measures of future safety. Its position for that purpose was admirable. It could look both ways—backwards and forwards. It could contemplate the past and predict the future. And its temper was excellent. It was ready for thorough work. It expected it, it demanded it. It was ready to do whatever thing should be pointed out as right and necessary to make its great victory worth all it had cost. The war had ploughed down to primal granite. The experience of eighty years, and the conscience of the country said, "Build strong on that." The country was wholly in earnest; but it cannot be charged that its spirit was vindictive. With the foe at its feet, it had no disposition to inflict another wound; but it was clamorous for security. It had no disposition to unreservedly trust the loyalty of men whose loyal sentiments were simply a confession of defeat; but it would not wreak vengeance upon them.

Mr. Johnson's promise to "make treason odious" was hailed with delight; not that the nation wanted a few victims to appease its wrath, but it meant that treason *should* be "made odious," and henceforth impossible. It did not intend to say to defeated rebels, "Let us come together again, and have all things just as you have all along wanted them;" nor did it mean to say, "Let us come together again, each party compromising one-half its purpose." The country found itself in no such dilemma. There was no compromise to make. There was no longer two parties. The "Confederacy" was annihilated. It had been swept from the boards into its grave. There remained in the field only the victorious party, master of the situation, and ready to organize the future. How it would deal with rebels, was a side question, and of comparatively little moment, in the presence of the vastly greater question, How to re-organize the country on the enduring basis of domestic peace—how to anticipate and prevent rebellion in the future.

The fortunes of war decided for a *nationality*, and against a *confederation*. This was the fact the triumphant party had to start with. What, then, should it do? Proceed in accordance with this decision, and make the country one nation; make the National government supreme, omnipotent and omnipresent in its power for the protection of its citizens, throughout the entire land. Its motto: "No more rights of States to stand before the rights of man." Nothing short of this could guarantee any security for the future; and this could be accomplished only by such a revision and amendment of the Constitution as should render it impossible for any State government to interpose its authority, arresting the arm of the National government, outstretched to protect those of whom it claimed allegiance. The sovereignty of the States must become a mere *local convenience*, and nothing more. The National government must hold direct and intimate relations with citizens, and no longer be limited to the distant and uncertain attitude it had hitherto maintained. Whatever claim was made, hitherto it had only been a confederacy of independent States. It had no vital national life; it was not felt, and known, and honored, and loved by all classes of citizens; its dealings had been mainly with States. Any State might say to it, "This is my business, and not yours," let the case be what it might, if it came within the catalogue of "domestic" or "local" matters, and the General government had no alternative but to acquiesce.

This whole question, which in one form or another had been before the country ever since the organization of the government itself, was thus brought up anew as soon as the rebellion had been put down; and the necessity of attending to it was urged by all the motives of honor and duty it would seem possible to present. Four millions of people, whose hopes for the future were all based upon national protection, stood uttering their plea of justice and humanity. Somehow, the fate of the negro and the fate of this country is inextricably wedded. What is safe for the negro is safe for the country; what is not safe for him will not be safe for it. These ex-slaves presented their case. They said, "Can the nation protect us? We are, by the nation's decree, United States citizens. Can the nation protect those whom it has liberated from bondage?" This question was a *test* question. To answer "No," would be to confess the triumph of the Confederacy. It would be the confession that the nation was yet itself in bondage; it could be foiled of its purpose by the limitations any one of the States might set up, pleading its "rights" as authority. These people stood right there in the way to enforce and secure to America the victory of the war; and the party then in power had the opportunity, and all the inducements, it would seem, for meeting these great questions of American nationality and freedom, and of finally disposing of them. It could re-cast the organic law of the land, and make it guarantee national sovereignty and protection to the humblest citizen within the borders of the Republic. Two grand consummations—Nationality and Freedom!

How have these questions been met? What answer has been given? What has the party of the country—the Union party—done?

We cannot recite the story of the year; we cannot follow, step by step, the path we have taken to find the country again confronting a peril as great as that of '61. By somebody's fault, the great purpose which moved the people when they emerged triumphant from the smoke of battle in '65, has been let slip. The President gone clear over to the enemy, and Congress surrendering to expediencies, presents a picture that can awaken no apprehensions too extravagant. The lines do not run between Congress and the President, but they place both these parties on the one side and the national purpose on the other. *Disarmed, that stands alone*, so far as either branch of the government is concerned. The withdrawal by the President of all support to it from his office, needs no further proclamation. But the failure of Congress to support it, is a fact not so readily believed. People say, if Congress is faithless, to whom shall we look? And so great appears the calamity, they will not believe it, until the result of the surrender is revealed. The President's purpose is understood. He would re-set the old machinery, put it in motion, and grind the negro race into original dust. No matter what he says, his acts give his words the lie. He will neither offer the race the temporary protection of the "Freedmen's Bureau," approve legislation to protect them in their "Civil Rights," nor will he arm them for their own protection with "suffrage." Congress takes the first two steps and stops. It permits the question of suffrage to still remain a State privilege. Its plan of reconstruction fails to meet the question of national sovereignty, and consequently settles nothing; but puts the country all adrift again, with no anchorage left but the moral sense and determination of the people.

When this Congress first met, Mr. Representative Boutwell said, "No such radical and thoroughly revolutionary Congress has met since the government was organized. It can be trusted." He was not wrong in his first statement. It is the best Congress the country has ever had. It has withstood Executive influence, and maintained its independent position with great honor to itself. But the following confession, taken from Mr. Boutwell's speech on the re-admission of Tennessee, is also true: "We surrender up to-day four millions of people; we surrender the cause of justice; we degrade ourselves as a great party, which has controlled the country in the most trying times in the history of the world; and for one, humble though I may be, I enter my protest against this proceeding. Believing it to be wrong, I declare it here in the presence of those who have power to prevent it."

Congress goes before the country offering as its "policy" a constitutional amendment, which does not settle the question of suffrage, but offers the States strong inducements in favor of granting it. Shall we accept Tennessee as the first fruits of that policy? Mr. Boutwell said when he voted for the "amendment," "I waive my objection to it, because I know that Congress will insist upon suffrage, as the price of admission for any State." He thought Congress would do, of its own accord, what it feared it could not get incorporated into the fundamental law of the country. He would do it, because he believes the power of Congress already sufficient. But no party has ever yet been agreed that such power did belong to Congress—not even since the war. The question needs to be taken out of the field of debate. It needs to be settled so that there can be no evasion; it needs to be settled by a specific provision in the Constitution, which shall be uniform throughout the country, establishing impartial suffrage for all the States, including all races and both sexes. Then Congress will have a clear duty before it. It can enforce the supreme law of the land upon rebellious States, South and North. Such an amendment would establish the National Sovereignty. It would bring all classes within the guardianship of the Republic, and go farther and faster in the direction of a "restoration of the Union" than all the temporary legislation and poor, dribbling brood of expedients it has brought forth since the assembling last December.

It is to be hoped that the amendment to the Constitution now pending before the country, and which Tennessee has just adoped for the purpose of getting her representatives back into the Union, may not become a part of that instrument. Let it be rejected, in order to have a settlement of our national troubles based upon a wiser and better plan.

UNION MEETING IN WASHINGTON.

SPEECH OF GEN. HAMILTON.

[The meeting of Unionists in Washington on 19th July was an immense and most enthusiastic gathering. The speeches of Gen. Schenck, Gen. Logan and Gen. Hamilton, were all excellent. We sincerely regret we have not space to copy all of them. Gen. Hamilton was always regarded as one of the ablest men at the South. His course since 1860 has shown him not only one of the ablest statesmen but one of the clearest-headed, truest-hearted and bravest men of that or of any section. We especially regret our inability to give our reader's his able and masterly speech entire. The extracts below relating to the rights of the negro, the fact that slavery still lives, and the mood and purpose of the rebels, are valuable testimony from one whose position as Provisional-Governor of Texas gives him the very best means of knowing thoroughly that whereof he affirms. It is the deliberate testimony of one of the fairest-minded and best-informed Southern officeholders.]

SLAVERY NOT DEAD.

SLAVERY, we admit, as a legal institution, is no more; but let us not flatter ourselves that we may stop just where we are—having prosecuted successfully the struggle that has been waged between the opposing principles of freedom and slavery, that slavery no longer exists. It matters but little that you have said by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States that it shall nowhere exist in any of the States or Territories over which the jurisdiction of the United States exists, if, in fact, we remit back to the people of the States lately in rebellion the principle of State sovereignty, which claims the power to say what shall be the institutions of each State to the citizens of that State. I say to you, if you admit that doctrine, the contest is not ended. We had supposed that we had the right to rest upon the postulate that if anything was settled in this war it was the power and duty upon the part of the government of the United States to protect every one of its citizens, from highest to lowest—every loyal one at least—within the limits of the United States. (Applause.) We had supposed that the great voice of the people would endorse that as one of the issues settled by the war. I believe to-night the great voice of the people has settled that question. And yet we find it opposed as if it were a new and unheard-of heresy.

NEGRO'S ONLY LOYALISTS—NO PEACE TILL WE ACKNOWLEDGE THIS.

Now, it is notoriously true, as a part of the history of these times, and all these States, that whatever may be true in legal contemplation of the white race, there was a race of people in the South that could in their condition commit no treason against the government of the United States. I allude to the slaves. They had no volition of their own; they could not legally connect themselves with the one party or the other. We know, however, as a historic fact, that their hearts, their sympathies, and their prayers were with the government of the United States. (Applause.) And why? Because they had a religious faith that their freedom was inseparably connected with the triumph of the arms of the government of the United States. (Renewed applause.) When the war ended, and this scheme was entered upon of reorganizing State governments in the South, the Provisional Governors were directed to go to their respective States and call conventions as soon as practicable of all of those who under the previous Constitution and laws of the State were entitled to vote, and who would take the oath of amnesty prescribed by the President on the 29th of May, 1865. I beg you to remember, fellow-citizens, that this was after the negro was a *free* man, and a citizen of the United States—because it is too late now to undertake the discussion of the Dred Scott decision; I thank God that we have done with that forever; and I thank God, too—just here I will take occasion to indulge in a little vanity—that of all the men I knew in the South, I was the only man who dared to publicly proclaim that it was a blot and a shame upon the history of the country that that decision was ever rendered. (Applause.) The slaves became citizens of the United States the moment the rebellion was crushed; and let me say here, that although I rejoice that the Bill of Rights has passed the Congress of the United States, and especially that it has passed in despite of Executive resistance and power (loud and prolonged applause), still I regard it as only having been declaratory of the right that did exist in the negro in the absence of any such law. He was a citizen—a free citizen of the United States. He had never committed treason against the government of the United States; he loved that government. (Applause.) He was willing to labor for it, to fight for it, and to die for it, if need be. (Renewed applause.) Then, I ask, whence does the President of the United States derive the power to say that the only class that had been loyal to the government in the South, the only class of free citizens there existing who had not engaged in the rebellion, and who had not thus forfeited their civil and political rights and privileges, should be cut off and denied the privilege of participating in the formation of a new government; while that other class, the rebels, and all those who had been denounced by international law as the enemies of the government of the United States, should be reinstated in their privilege of controlling the government, and that the exclusion of the only portion of the inhabitants who had been true to its flag—in their hearts, at least, for they had not opportunities to make known their feelings by their action—should be made to stand aside and suffer a government to be made in which their rights were to be forever denied and ignored. (Applause.)

I say, fellow-citizens, we have started out in this thing wrong. If we attempt for a moment to defend a position of that sort we will never get through this struggle until we get right. ("That's so!" and great applause.) If you fall back upon the prejudices of the past, those which were once so offensive, because in maintaining this grand principle of right you are denounced by a certain class as negro-worshippers, and so on, you will fall far short of the imperative duty which is before you. You will have to get bravely over all these things before we can ever hope to be at peace, and before agitation will cease among us. Until this government dare to do right truth will perish from this earth before agitation will cease upon that subject. (Applause.)

WHITE MAN'S GOVERNMENT.

The hackneyed phrase "This is a white man's government" is the grandest slander ever perpetrated upon the work of our great fathers. It is not a white man's government. It is a *free* man's government, be he white or black. (Vociferous applause.) It is a government for all those from every clime, of every hue, who come here and with honest words worship in its temple, and offer their heart's blood in its defence when it is imperilled. (Applause.) You talk about this being a white man's government, and say that a black man is incapable of being a citizen. In the name of God, then, what is the black man, born free in the great State of New York, entitled to suffrage under the Constitution of that State when twenty-one years old, possessing the proper qualifications, wielding a part of the political power of the government, and voting for your Presidents and Vice-Presidents, Governors, members of Congress, and municipal officers, subject to taxation, subject to draft when the country is in danger, going forth with the armies of the Republic to do battle in its defence—I say, what is he, if he is not a citizen? Can you give his description? It always was a lie, and more and more a monstrous lie than at any other period of the history of the government. (Laughter and applause.) It may not, perhaps, be to your taste that he should be your equal. Then try to be, in merit, in morals, in intellect, and in serving your race his superior; and if you succeed in excelling him in these particulars, you will be his superior. (Vociferous applause.)

I am now talking to a people who, I judge from your manifestations, are somewhat free from the prejudices of the past. I have spoken, however, in this same strain with scowling faces all around instead of to smiling and happy faces as I now see before me. (Cries of "Good," and applause.) I said to them, "Are you not ashamed to be heard to regret the fact that you saw a little black urchin on the street with a primer in his hand going to learn how better to discharge his duty as a citizen?" (Applause.) And would you not the more become that superior race of which you claim to be a member by lending him a helping hand that he might become elevated a little higher in the social scale, and advanced in moral worth, integrity, intelligence, love of country and of liberty, than to scowl at, despise, and deride all their efforts (Applause.) if they are free, if they are to live in your midst, if they are to be useful, if they shall be rendered capable of properly discharging the duties which will fall to them—so important are their labors that you cannot dispense with them to-day. For, if you should wage another war against the government and attempt at once to remove them from your midst you would starve, for they are the only people who work. A few months ago you stated that the problem was yet to be solved as to whether the negro would work. That is now solved. But the one that now remains to be solved is, whether the white man at the South will work, for I think it is pretty generally ascertained that, if he can possibly help it, he won't do it. (Applause and laughter.)

SOUTH STILL REBELLIOUS.

These, my fellow-citizens, are truths, and we must meet them as truths. What, then, must be done? We are in the midst of another great struggle. The war has closed, but here are the people who were engaged in the rebellion, the occasion of the war, not repentant, not humbled, not giving utterance to expressions of regret for the past, not tendering to the government the assurance of fidelity to it—their readiness to bow with submission to the lawful authority of the government—nothing of the kind. Twelve months ago, in terror they were asking, in view of some impending evil over them, "What in the name of God will you accord to us? We are willing to do anything on earth if you will let us live here." I said, "Certainly, if you will behave yourselves, and prove good, worthy citizens, and will take the necessary oath. The government is a magnanimous, generous, merciful government, and it will not drive you out." Finding after a while that no one was to be hurt, they began to get over their scare, and would say, "What is the use of our taking the d—d oath. I do not believe anybody is to be hurt. My property is not taken; there are no United States Courts in session, no judgments of condemnation against either my person or property, and what is the use of being frightened and being so humble? Let us go up to this Provisional Governor—those who are embraced in the amnesty proclamation—and get his endorsement for a pardon, and when we get our pardon, then we can say what we please."

Yes, it is a fact that the moment it was ascertained that no one was to be hurt, the deportment of the whole crew changed instantly. From almost abject submission and suppliance, they reared their heads in a sort of proud arrogance. If they approached you for a favor at all, it was in a manner as if they were paying you a high compliment in coming to ask you to grant it; and from asking us what will be accorded to them, they very soon came to ask themselves, "What in the devil are we going to accept of these men who are our natural enemies, and who have been trying to subject and ruin us?" (Laughter and applause.) And when things progress a little further, they see a little light emanating from what they believe to be a slight rupture—but which has grown a little since—between the President and Congress. They said, "Look here; the Abolitionists North, who comprise nearly all the people there, and their Senators and Representatives in Congress are Radicals. Do you know what that means? Why it is even worse than Abolitionist in former times." (Laughter and applause.) Do you see what the President is doing? He is going to put his feet down upon their heads. He is our man at last, as much as we have abused him. We have been deceived in him, and so have the others. (Great laughter, and cries of "That's so.") He will put a check on that radical party that is bearing down on us like a mighty wave, seeking to overwhelm us with their fanaticism. We can now see a glimmer of hope, for the rapid realization of which we should pray, that if that radical majority in Congress keep cutting up their fanatical tricks, why then he will, one of these fine mornings, march up to the Capitol and expel them at the point of the bayonet, while he will assume the dictatorship. Hurrah for Andy Johnson! Down with the Radicals in Congress! Down with free men in Texas who do not curse the majority in Congress! Damn the Yankees! What can we expect at their hands? Andrew Johnson is our man, and he will protect us. (Great laughter.) Such is their tone at present. Out of every fifty with whom I have talked, forty-nine of them have expressed this ardent, this Christian hope and belief. They pay the Executive the high compliment of saying that he is made up of just that sort of stuff that would disappoint the high hopes and ardent hearts of the people of this great nation, and instead of leading them through the struggle and putting the government upon the eternal rock of equal justice and equal liberty for all, would remit back to the control of the men who sought to destroy it in order to crush the spirit of liberty. ("They are right," and applause.) This fact, my fellow-citizens, leaves us to-night to determine where we are and what we are to do in order to moor the old ship safely into the harbor for which she has been steering for five successive years through storms and tempests. I had supposed in my simplicity, and in my imperfect knowledge of the framework of this government, that this being a great political question, one in which every man in the land was not only interested, but in which nearly every man—surely every true man—performed his part in some department, either in the military or civil service, or in the less arduous duty of the private citizen, would each and all have a voice through their accredited Representatives in the adjustment of the great question before us. These Representatives have been thus clothed with their power for the express purpose of dealing with and settling forever this great question as to the terms and conditions upon which the States who engaged in the rebellion might be received back to fellowship in the great family of States as they were before they rebelled against the government.

The people regarded it not only as within the power, but as the special and bounden duty of Congress to do this. How did any constitutional lawyer, any thoughtful citizen think it was to be achieved in any other way? Who was to be the judge, to begin with, of the character of the government presented to the State? I called your attention in the outset to the fact that the President declared that all legitimate State government had been overthrown in Texas as one of the States engaged in the rebellion. If so, then no government existed there. By virtue of what was a new government, a government that had never existed until it had been evoked by the power intended to be conferred, I suppose, by the President, through me, in my State upon the people of that State. It has never yet been presented to the Congress of the United States for their reception or rejection. If it had been possible, they might have scrutinized the provisions contained in the proposed organic law as to the equality of rights of all the free citizens of that State. They might have looked at one provision, for example, proposing the appropriation and use of the public school fund of the State, derived from the taxation of the free people in the State, one-tenth of which every year is set aside and held sacred as a school fund, not, under the Constitution, to be appropriated for any other purpose. When it was proposed that out of any amount that hereafter, not that had heretofore accumulated, but that out of the amount thereafter to be accumulated from the source of direct taxation of the people, which the black as well as the white man has to bear, the black man should have an interest in it, at least proportionate to the amount paid by his race for the education of the black children of the land, it was indignantly scorned and hooted out of the convention. We will tax him, they said, not for his education or the education of his children, but for the education of our children. He shall have no part or lot in it. I ask if there is any man here, I care not where he was raised, what party he is associated with, how many of the old sophisms that surrounded the Democratic party in the past he may be imbued with, who can lay his hand upon his heart, and say, as a representative of the free people of his State or his district, and pronounce such a Constitution in conformity with that principle of government which declares that you shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government? (Applause.) I envy not the man the heart or the mind that could render such a verdict under such an oath, with such testimony staring him in the face. But what is to be done? Here are people who have assumed that they have the right to recognize a State government. We have faith, from what our Congress has thus far done, that this will not be permitted, unless it can be done with such restrictions as will give equal rights to all, and secure loyal representation in the halls of your National Legislature.

SOUTH CONQUERED, NOT CONVERTED.

Many things have been done by our present noble Congress which is exceeding distasteful to those who advocate the immediate and unconditional admission of the lately rebel States, not the least of which is the assumption of the debt incurred by the United States during the late war, and the repudiation of that of the rebels. No doubt for this and other equally patriotic and just reasons Congress will be severely censured by that happy union of discordant elements—(laughter)—that speckled progeny of many conjunctions—(renewed laughter)—that will assemble at Philadelphia on the 14th of next month, composed of a few gentlemen covered all over with bread and butter. (Loud and continued laughter and applause.)

The speaker here described in a forcible and eloquent manner what the Southern representatives in that convention would demand, and what no doubt they would receive. Among other things he stated they would demand the acknowledgment of the rebel debt; an appropriation to arrange and decorate the graves of the rebel dead; the care and protection of the rebel widows and orphans; the recognition of Jeff. Davis as a martyr in a holy cause; not one word to be allowed to be said against his fair and spotless fame; no man to receive consideration, much less office, unless he could boast of his devotion and of having risked his precious life to tear down the government of the United States.

Yes, fellow-citizens, it is a noticeable, a significant fact, that all the papers of secession proclivities, with one voice, abuse every single department of this government and all its loyal people, reserving a word of approbation only for the Executive officer, whom they hope may be more potent for wrong than all their armies in rebellion. (Cries of "That's so.")

Now what does this teach us? There is a remedy for all this. These people can be made to understand that there is something in this world that must be respected. I will tell you what they respect, and what they respect only. Nothing under heaven but power! You cannot win them over by kindness. You cannot secure their co-operation for the purpose of carrying on the government with success by any favors that you can bestow upon them. However charitable you may be, however anxious to reclaim them, you cannot do it except through the medium of their fears of the power of the government of the United States.

Do you ask me why? I will tell you. I confess that my eyes within the last twelve months have been somewhat opened on this subject. I did believe there were many who, although earnestly engaged in the rebellion, having been purified by the ordeal of fire, having been made wise by experience, chastened by adversity, had thought better of their conduct, and had repented in sackcloth and in ashes, and were willing to come back with true penitence for what they had done, and who would, in order to atone as far as possible for the mischief they had done, be willing to heartily engage in the work of restoring the government to its former power and just influence and authority all over the country, if permitted to do so; but I can assert to-night that I have yet to meet the first man, even among those who engaged in it reluctantly, who, I believe, has to-night the least regret for the part that he performed. He only regrets that it did not succeed, and he would again, at a moment's warning, engage in a second struggle if he believed it would result in success; and this I am sure every candid man amongst us will admit is the result of his observation and experience. (Cries of "That's so.") The rebel says, "I have taken the oath, and I will respect it as long as it is binding upon my conscience." How long will it be binding upon your conscience? That I cannot tell. (Laughter.) That depends upon circumstances. It depends upon whether the military power of the nation shall be invoked to expel this Congress; and the people of the South are told, "that in order to save you from the usurpations of this power, delegated to the nation's own chosen representatives, I must expel them from the halls of Congress and take you under the kindly influence of my own hand for the benefit of your future interests."

NEGRO SUFFRAGE—CONGRESS OUGHT NOT TO ADJOURN—DANGER AHEAD.

If this Constitutional Amendment be adopted, all well as far as it goes. I grant you that it will be a powerful incentive to these men to induce them hereafter—perhaps at no distant day—to do right, and confer upon the negro what he ought to have—the right of suffrage. (Applause.) But suppose they do not. It is all very well as a just rule between the States, and so far it heartily meets my concurrence; but I beg to ask, if it secures absolutely to the negro, justice? There is the great question that no mind which is imbued with a sense of right, and which has a clear conception of the great issues of the day now pressing upon us, ought to disregard. Equal justice is the true theory of our government, and should be granted to all, and that at once.

It is the duty, then, of government, I deduce from all this—the political department, I mean—to march forward directly to the achievement of the great object. Congress has in view, I know, the manner of providing for the return of these States upon such terms as will secure to the government indemnity against the machinations of disloyal parties in the future, and with such guarantees for the exclusion of the leading and hated rebels as will give the control of the masses in the South into the keeping of their hands. With that security I believe they may be returned. In conjunction with that, the Congress of the Union will be greatly wanting in its duty if it shall not prescribe in the most ample manner for absolute security for the protection of every right conferred upon every citizen of the government of the United States. (Enthusiastic applause.)

In addition to this, there remains for the Congress another duty. Had I time, and felt justified physically, I would point out much more fully than I will be able to do that remaining duty of Congress. I have no doubt they are performing it faithfully at this moment; but whether they will continue to perform it until the danger is past is what I am not prepared to say. We hear many rumors now, fellow-citizens, of troubles to come. The public mind is becoming disturbed and uneasy. A sense of undefined danger seems to be pervading the public atmosphere. Why is this? It was not so twelve months ago. Soon after the rebellion broke down, we thought all that was secure. Is it not strange that it should be felt now? There must be a cause. You cannot tell me that the people of this great nation distrust any of their public officers without cause. I have never known it to happen. A faithful public agent will have the endorsement of those whom he serves. Why is it the public mind is being familiarized with the subject of revolution if this, that, and the other thing is not done? Don't you see I am trying to prevent this? Don't you see that the tendency of this Congress is to revolution? Why so? Because a piece of Congress has no right to propose an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. What do you call a piece of Congress? Does it require any more power to propose by joint resolution an Amendment to the Constitution than it does to pass appropriate bills? Again, it is said that it is meant to postpone the return of the States until after the next Presidential election, and that if that is done, and the electoral votes of the Southern States are not received, there will be revolution. All I have to say is that it is the bounden duty of the public servants, in my humble judgment, to remain here, and never leave their posts.

[The speaker was here interrupted by a most enthusiastic outburst of applause, which lasted for some minutes.] I for one would feel easier if I only knew that this Congress would not adjourn until the regular period for its meeting again. (Renewed applause.) You can all imagine what you choose. He who has seen revolution once, and knows how easy the minority can produce a revolution, may well dread a minority, however small, when fatally bent upon mischief. I do not say that it is meant, but I do say that I fear for it. How many of you share that feeling with me to-night I cannot tell. Bear in mind, however, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and we cannot watch too constantly, too strenuously, and dissect the motives and conduct of men too narrowly.

The speaker retired amid great applause.

DEAR SIR: The writer of the accompanying "Articles of Union" expresses me to what you a copy thereof. SINCLAIR TOUSEY.

New York, July, 1866.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF FAITH

OF THE

NEW PARTY,

TO BE

ORGANIZED IN PHILADELPHIA IN AUG., 1866.

[The following "Articles of Faith" are to be adopted by the great Convention, called to meet in Philadelphia on the Fourteenth of August. It is quite possible that some meddlesome fellow may, by a "Committee on Resolutions," attempt to alter the phraseology a little, but the substance will remain unchanged. The writer of these "articles" has "superior facilities" for knowing what is on "the slate," and pledges his reputation on the correctness of these declarations of belief:]

ARTICLE I.

WE believe that Philadelphia is a much better "objective point" from which to "overrun the Northern States" than was Gettysburg. At all events, we shall not be turned back from this point (if we pay our tavern bills).

ARTICLE II.

We believe that "Conservatism" is the only true "ism" except Johnsonism. In truth, Johnsonism is the only pure Conservatism.

ARTICLE III.

We believe that this Convention represents the only true Union party (of office-seekers) in the country. We are the only true and reliable conservatives that the country can produce. We are the only really patriotic party now in existence; and, besides us, there are no patriotic conservative Unionists anywhere. We are "properly endorsed" by every friend the late Confederate States ever had. We are for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union (as it was when our friends bore sway).

ARTICLE IV.

We believe that the only (present) way to get office is to support "my policy," and we solemnly declare that we will, on the true faith of office-seekers, support that policy, come weal, come woe (especially weal).

ARTICLE V.

We believe that that part of "my policy" of turning all Radicals out of office and putting true Conservatives (of patronage) in their places, is the only sure way to permanently reconstruct and restore the Union. Our Alexander is our model man. He has his reward.

ARTICLE VI.

We believe that the Tennessee Andrew now in the White House (while he has offices to bestow) is a much greater man than the Andrew formerly there. We always said so—every one of us.

ARTICLE VII.

We believe that Congress, especially this radical one, has no right to prescribe terms and conditions on which the late Confederate States may again take their equal places in national legislation. The President is the only proper party to have any "policy" on that subject. He has the patronage—Congress has none. The right to carry out a "policy" rests with patronage. We believe in the President.

ARTICLE VIII.

We believe that the President ought not to enforce any law that he don't approve, even if passed by Congress over his veto by more than the constitutional two-thirds vote; hence, we believe and declare that the President does right in not enforcing that bill of abomination, called the "Civil Rights bill." He does right in allowing any and every court in any State to ignore that law passed by a radical Congress. The enforcement of that law would be a fatal blow at our favorite doctrine of State supremacy. We stand by the President (while he has a single office to give).

ARTICLE IX.

We believe that the President (if he will allow us to have any belief) ought not to have recognized the present self-styled Congress as the rightful Congress. We believe that he ought to prevent that radical body from again polluting the Capitol. He ought (if he will allow us to say anything) to recognize Conservatives and Democrats of the North and anybody that is sent from the South as the only true Congress, and he ought to exclude by force of arms all others claiming to be Congressmen. We will sustain him in this course (as long as he has any patronage).

ARTICLE X.

We believe that "my policy" of pardoning all Confederates who desire it is a wise stroke of conciliatory, compromising conservatism. Now that these men have ceased to fight with bullets, they should be allowed to try ballots.

ARTICLE XI.

We believe that any State is superior to and ought to be supreme over all the rest; hence the veto of the Civil Rights bill was a wise display of "my policy." The right of a State to ignore any law of Congress must be maintained intact.

ARTICLE XII.

We believe that any State has the right not only to do as she will within her own limits (even to forbidding persons from other States to enter her borders, and to prevent the passage of the U. S. mails), but also to secede; and we further believe that every man should "go with" his State, and, if the State can't "get out of the Union," the individual should, by taking up arms; and, when not successful, both the State and the individual should be treated as if they had always been "good children." They are parts of the family, and none of our family can do any wrong.

ARTICLE XIII.

We believe that "loyalty to the government" consists in ruling it; and, when men can't rule it to their liking, they should overturn it, or, at least, endeavor to, and, if not successful, should, as consolation for their bad luck, be allowed to hold the best offices.

ARTICLE XIV.

We believe that the neutrality of Kentucky ought to have been followed by the other border States—in fact, by all the States, there being no authority in the old Constitution for coercing a sovereign State. This is the law, as laid down by Jeems and his wise men.

ARTICLE XV.

We believe that the attempt to provision U. S. troops in a U. S. fort, by U. S. officials, was a high-handed outrage on the rights and dignities of a sovereign State. We declare that there should have been no U. S. forts in Charleston Harbor: then there would have been no U. S. troops there to need food, and the supremacy of South Carolina could not have been questioned, and the late cruel war would not have been begun at the time and place when and where it did begin.

ARTICLE XVI.

We believe that the self-respect and dignity of South Carolina demanded the course she adopted in firing on Sumter.

ARTICLE XVII.

We believe that the (self-styled) loyal States should pay for all the slaves set free by the Proclamation of their President, and for all killed by the war. A man is entitled to his own. Our Southern brothers owned their slaves, and, of course, should be paid for them.

ARTICLE XVIII.

We believe that the (self-styled) loyal States should pay the debts contracted by their government in coercing the Confederates to lay down their arms.

ARTICLE XIX.

We believe that the late Confederate States should not be made to pay any taxes for the pensions of Federal soldiers. It is unjust to compel an honorable people to aid in supporting those who prevented them from gaining their independence. The self-styled loyal States should pay all the pensions of their soldiers.

ARTICLE XX.

We believe that the United States, now that the Confederate States have (because they could not help it) ceased all ... should pay *all debts* contracted by the Confederate authorities in their righteous struggle for independence.

ARTICLE XXI.

We believe that all the debts contracted by the (so-called) loyal States in prosecuting the war for the subjugation of the South should be repudiated, if the debts contracted by the Confederate authorities are not assumed by the United States. This is but simple justice.

ARTICLE XXII.

We believe, in the language of the patriotic men who met at Chicago in 1864, that the war was a failure (though we differ with them as to which side failed), and having been a failure on the part of the oppressed and down-trodden Confederates, it is now our bounden duty to do all we can to aid them to gain, by words and votes, what they failed to secure by arms; and to this we solemnly pledge our fortunes and our sacred honors (that is, we would if we had any of either).

ARTICLE XXIII.

We believe that it is an infringement of personal (office-holding) right to require any kind of an oath from an intending voter or applicant for office. Now that the war (of arms) is over, all white men should be treated equal. Of course they should.

ARTICLE XXIV.

We believe that a white Confederate soldier ought to be represented in the National Congress before any black man who fought for the Union. Black Federals have no rights which white Confederates ought to respect.

ARTICLE XXV.

We believe that that true gentleman and Christian soldier, Major-General Robert E. Lee, is a much better man to be at the head of the military forces of the country than the heretofore obscure person now occupying that important position. *A change is needed, and must be made.*

ARTICLE XXVI.

We believe that there can never be a perfect Union without excluding New England. Chivalry is better than Puritanism.

ARTICLE XXVII.

We believe that the "masterly inactivity" of Little Mac was a much greater piece of "strategical warfare" than were the destructive marches and raids of Sherman and Sheridan. They paid no heed to the amenities of civilized warfare.

ARTICLE XXVIII.

We believe that the burning of occupied hotels and theatres, by the agents of the oppressed Confederates, was perfectly justifiable. Also, the poisoning of water fountains. Also, the robbing of emigrants on shipboard. Anything and everything is justifiable on the part of a down-trodden people like the Confederates, even the starving of prisoners and introduction of small pox.

ARTICLE XXIX.

We believe that Andersonville was a much more comfortable place than Johnson's Island; that Libby was a palace of pleasures compared with Camp Douglas; that Salisbury was an "Enchanted Isle" compared with Elmira.

ARTICLE XXX.

We believe that a great, magnanimous, Christian nation ought to forgive all the mistakes and crimes (even if not repented of) of all its people. This is the true interpretation of the New Testament injunction—"Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you." All who attempt wrong desire forgiveness (when not successful).

ARTICLE XXXI.

We believe that such honorable, courteous, dignified gentlemen as Mason, Slidell, Thompson (known as Jake), Toombs and Wigfall, are more fit to grace the United States Senate (if we must have such a body at all) than such ordinary persons as Fessenden, Wade, Howard, Trumbull, or any other Northern men.

ARTICLE XXXII.

We believe that such high-minded, conservative, chivalric gentlemen as Preston Brooks, Aleck. Stephens, Pryor, Rhett, and Keitt, were better men for the House of Representatives than such Radicals as Thad. Stevens, Conkling, Colfax, Kelley, Boutwell, or other "loyal" Northerners.

ARTICLE XXXIII.

We believe that our Confederate brothers do perfectly right in prohibiting black Unionists from strewing flowers over the graves of white soldiers who died fighting against the independence of the Confederate States. These black men should not be allowed to remind white men that the Confederacy "is not."

ARTICLE XXXIV.

We believe that future generations will properly

embalm the memory of the martyr, Wilkes Booth, who so nobly sacrificed a young and hopeful life for the good of his country.

ARTICLE XXXV.

We believe that our Southern brothers manifest a proper spirit in not displaying the American Flag on their public buildings. That "rag" has no business to be flaunted in the faces of a brave, chivalric people.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

We believe that the white people of the South do right in not celebrating the Fourth of July and in turning over the "doings" of that day to the blacks. Our Southern white friends should do naught to remind themselves of a national "fete day" nor commemorative of their own "independence."

ARTICLE XXXVII.

We believe that it is unwise and provocative of bitterness of feeling to allow so many one-legged, one-armed, and scarred men to meet us everywhere through the Northern States. They should be kept out of sight, or sent out of the country. Our Southern brothers should not, when visiting the North, be offended by such reminders of their glorious struggle.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

We believe that those noble people, the Baltimoreans, did right in shooting those New England fanatics who passed through their city in April, 1861. Massachusetts should not send armed men over the "sacred soil" of a sovereign State. The Baltimore Mayor did wrong in "tenderly" sending back the dead bodies of the invaders. They should have been pitched into the sea, "unwept, unhonored and unsung."

ARTICLE XXXIX.

We believe that all men who fail to adopt these "Articles of Faith" ought to be classed as "Radical fanatics," and deprived of all voice or part in political affairs, especially of all offices.

THE COMING CIVIL WAR.

[We give the following extract from the leading article in last week's *Independent*. It merits from the readers of THE STANDARD the attention which all Mr. Tilton's articles are sure of receiving:]

But, dropping the grim joke, and looking at the grim facts, what is the purport of Mr. Blair's threat? In the first place, it is the threat of President Johnson. Montgomery Blair is, for the time being, president of the President. He is the chief-of-staff of the new Johnson party. The Executive proclaims, through Mr. Blair, that if the Radicals shall win the Fall elections, Mr. Johnson will not abide by the verdict of the ballot-box, but will rise in revolution. "We call upon the President," say the resolutions at Mr. Blair's meeting, "in the name of an outraged and violated Constitution, to make the Congress what the Constitution requires it to be—the representative body of the whole people." These resolutions are to give the President an excuse for appealing to the bayonet—for dispersing the Fortieth Congress with the sword. Two banners will then necessarily be lifted—the banner of the King and the banner of Parliament. But will the barking dog of the White House bite, after all? Nevertheless, since the President himself makes the threat of treason, it is well that the people should give heed. For months, the remark has been common on Andrew Johnson's lips—"The next rebellion will not be in the South, but in the North." But has Mr. Johnson considered the personal consequence to himself of a rebellion in the North? Let him remember that the man against whom the North shall again rise, if rise it shall, whether his name be Jefferson Davis or Andrew Johnson, might better never have been born! Jefferson Davis would not peaceably accept the issue of an election, but appealed to arms, and now dreams of scaffolds in Fortress Monroe. If Andrew Johnson shall not peaceably abide the issue of an election, but shall attempt a revolt, he shall be lodged in the next cell, and shall dream the same dreams. Twenty-five loyal States, wherein every cottage enshrines the memory of some slain soldier of liberty, will not permit the playing of pranks by the trickster of Tennessee. It is already a sufficient humiliation to the pride of a loyal people that the most shameless public man now at large—the accident of an accident—should be daily directing the movements of the Confederate party from Abraham Lincoln's presidential chair. The Executive threat, spoken by Mr. Blair, is equiva-

Policy shall be sustained at the ballot-box, I will scourge the American people with fire and sword." It is not the fault of this journal that the nation did not, months ago, crown the name of Andrew Johnson with the laurels of Benedict Arnold. Treacherous, angered, and desperate, he stands to-day the chief enemy of the American Republic. Do we utter these words idly? Would to God we knew how to utter them as with a tongue of fire! Harsh epithets are easily named, and, when unjustly applied, melt off like snow-flakes. But the harshest words that can be spoken against Andrew Johnson are the truest, and will remain as the verdict of history. Meanwhile, let the Northern farmer who ploughs his field in peace remember the threat of Andrew Johnson to redden it next November with blood.

HON. GRATZ BROWN ON THE RESOLUTION TO ADMIT TENNESSEE.

Mr. President, it is perhaps scarcely necessary for me to restate my position on this question after having on a previous occasion discussed so very elaborately the conditions upon which, in my judgment, it would be proper to restore the rebel States to a normal relation with the General government. But I feel as if I could not let this crisis pass without entering one word of final protest against the decision which seems about to be arrived at. You are going to recognize the civil government of the State of Tennessee and to admit her Senators and Representatives to seats in this Congress, and yet the grounds on which you are going to do so are not such as exact justice at the hands of rebellion toward those late in slavery, not such as guaranty safety to the loyal people against the numerical superiority of treasonable elements, not such as affirm the honor of this great nation in protecting the rights of its citizens and the liberties radiant from its Constitution impartially to all alike. Can I believe otherwise than that this element which you propose will be no settlement; that the safeguards you hypothecate will only be self-delusions; and that on the morrow you will awaken to find out that in the eager haste to cater to an imagined political prejudice, you have surrendered, most ignobly surrendered, the whole question of equal freedom that has been the inspiration of the entire conflict from first to last?

I have often announced in this Senate Chamber that, imbued with the conviction that impartial suffrage, making no discrimination of race or color, was the only solid groundwork on which reconstruction in the rebel States could proceed, I would never, by any vote of mine, consent to restore those States to their former Federal relations until they should first make impartial suffrage one of the muniments of their constitutions. I propose to-day to redeem in part that pledge by refusing to vote now, in advance of any such action, for the restoration of Tennessee.

Of the causes which carried Tennessee into rebellion, that kept Tennessee in rebellion through long years, and that may make it possible for Tennessee again to assume attitudes of rebellion, the most potent still remains—the disfranchisement of the largest section of her loyal population on the score of color alone. It was this disfranchising feature of the slave code that not only acted directly to degrade the laboring blacks, but also acted indirectly to paralyze the laboring whites, to destroy their political influence, to subject them to slaveholding opinion, and thus make any treason possible that was heralded as being in the interest of the dominant class. Scrutinize it rigidly, strip off deceit of names, reduce slavery to its elements, and you will find this to have been its fatal disturbing political influence. I say political influence, for it is against that you are now ostensibly erecting constitutional barriers, and yet before anything in that behalf is accomplished, nay abandoning the very idea of accomplishing anything, you are ready to re-admit Tennessee to your communion and fellowship with the fatal virus of future disease lurking in her Constitution, and the great instrument of class despotism there ready again to be shaped into class treason. Sir, there is no national safety in this procedure.

Mr. President, I speak these words now not in the interest of any party, but in behalf of humanity, of justice, of right; and yet were I the oracle to-day of your Republican Union organization, I would plead with you, my friends, not to make this humiliating surrender of the very life principle of your party. Republicanism means nothing if it means not impartial, universal suffrage. Republicanism is a mockery and a lie if it can assume to administer this government in the name of freedom, and yet sanction, as this act will, the disfranchising of a large, if not the largest, part of the loyal population of the rebel States, on the pretext of color and race.

But, sir, I rose only to enter my disclaimer, to affirm that your materially-modified preamble takes nothing from the bad significance of the resolution itself, to declare from my place in the American Senate that I will have no part or parcel in any such deed, and to say that while I arraign neither the conscience nor motive of any member who may differ from me, yet I take appeal to the future to vindicate the correctness of that judgment on which I act, and which finds so little of concurrence here in the present. So reliant, I shall vote against restoring any rebel State that does not guarantee impartial suffrage in its organic law. Above all I shall vote against Tennessee, where impartial suffrage was once of right the rule till abolished by the slave code.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1866.

THE EDITOR of THE STANDARD has been prostrated by severe illness, occasioned by the late extreme heat; but is much better. He will be absent from his post two or three weeks for recuperation and rest. The paper will be in competent hands during his absence.

CONGRESS.

Congress has adjourned. Thank Heaven for so much. It can do no more mischief. It will neither misrepresent nor demoralize the people any longer. Judged by it, as a specimen, the North would appear a blundering, unwieldly giant, throwing round its strong arms with terrible effect for a moment, and then cheated by cunning Jack, without hardly comprehending how.

With all its manifold advantages, representative government has one defect: the masses are always bold—representatives are always timid. It is only one instance of the general rule that principals act independently, promptly, boldly; agents hesitate, postpone, refuse responsibility, and spoil business by over-caution. Bring the masses face to face with this problem, and they would, in sixty days, have exterminated every white man in the South before they would have perilled peace and welcomed dishonor by betraying the negro and building on the quicksand of a pardoned rebel's oath. March one of Sherman's regiments into the House of Representatives, and how long would it take them to reconstruct South Carolina?

We have recorded so carefully the action of Congress at its successive stages, that we need not now recapitulate. Our columns are sacred to the negro. His advocate has this charge to prefer against Congress: Having full power in its hands, it has left the negro wholly without protection in the rebel States. Its Civil Rights Act is of course a sham in the hands of such a President, and *Congress knows this.* Its Freedmen's Bureau is what President Johnson chooses it shall be. Gen. Howard is his puppet. The only service Gen. Howard could have tendered the negro any time during the last year, was to have resigned and told the nation the truth, that he was checkmated in all efficient action by the traitor of the White House. These facts are what the masses need—not to be hoodwinked by a name into the belief that there is still an instrumentality to protect the negro. *All this Congress knew.* It never attempted to take one step toward remedying it. What precise acts it did in its last hours of confusion, the smoke has not yet cleared enough to discern. We can hardly believe that they devoted five millions of dollars to compensate slaveholders for enlisted slaves. If they did, such an act touched a low depth indeed.

It would have been far better, could Congress [illegible] of last December. Their session has injured themselves, the negro and the country. They met with high-sounding boasts how much they should do for the negro and how fully they should checkmate the President. Their best men confess that in both channels they have failed; while they have discouraged the country by the sight of their gradual decrease of courage and demoralized it by their insincere and partisan policy.

Look at Congress—confessing the absolute need of the negro ballot for the negro's and the nation's protection—assembling with loud boasts how fully they would secure it—and then adjourning to leave the negro under a Civil Rights Act to be executed by a traitor whom they tremble to leave alone in Washington! A Civil Rights Act with a President who loved it, would be a nonentity—with a President opposed, it is worse than a sham. The negro asked bread: they gave him a stone. And meanwhile the admirers of Congress are perpetually reminding you *how much has been secured!* Henry Wilson will have at every caucus this Fall a list of the glittering stones given to the negro, long and bright enough to dazzle all who wish to be confused. One of our illustrated papers gave us awhile ago the picture of a man in agony under the hands of a dentist, who, holding high his instrument and looking benignly into the face of his victim, is asking, "Don't you feel much better, sir; I've got the tooth almost half-way out." It reminded me of Congress asking the negro, as it holds the Civil Rights sham in its hands, "Don't you find yourself all right; we have got you almost half-way out of slavery."

We stand in fearful peril. If Congress has fairly represented the spirit and purpose of the nation, then nothing, but a few months time, stands between us and the full restoration of the old Slave Power. We have relied on the promises of the Republican party—they have all failed us. The President plots to bring back the South as nearly as possible in the state she stood before the war. Congress assembled, defying him, and adjourns after admitting Tennessee as a *white man's government.* What shall prevent a similar admission of other States? Their admission follows almost as a matter of course; and then the South, with increased power (got from annihilating the three-fifths slave basis), enters the Congressional arena. If this Congress correctly measures the nation, the South is victorious, and war,—a renewal of the war,—would be our greatest blessing, since such instant collision between freedom and the incoming despotism would show the nation sound at the core.

On the other hand, if Congress does not fairly represent the masses, then its session, confusing the popular instincts, masking, for six months, the President's treason, cooling down the nation's enthusiasm, has been an unmixed evil.

Let us welcome its departure from Washington. Now the President stands there alone. None to conceal his course. If he meditates revolutionary action, let the lines be drawn. Sumter's gun saved us once. A blow from the governing hand at Fortress Monroe, inflicted through his agent in the State Department or the White House, may yet stun us into reason. If not—if the people succumb as easily as Congress did, then our children must fight this battle over again. Better know the worst, and not begin to build till we can build on solid foundations.

The past is beyond recall—the future is in God's hands—the present alone is ours. The overbearing insolence and assurance of the South gives us at once full warning and the best means to call back the nation to its duty. We have what the negro's cause never had before—Wall street and every dollar of national capital on our side. Honor, justice, and every national pledge, is on our side. It is a struggle between the nation and traitors: between the conqueror and the conquered: between men who keep promises and those who break them; between men of property and swindlers; between justice and infamy. Shame on us if the scale of treason and infamy do not kick the beam! Shame on us if the struggle be not *immediately* ended! There is every encouragement for courageous effort. The Southern Unionists have not surrendered. With them it is death or victory. The Northern masses have not surrendered. That dead weight and sheet-anchor of our selfishness—capital—dares not surrender. We are stronger now than we were many an hour during the war. Half as much effort as was made, many a time, during the war, will save us. Justice expects every man to do his duty. Above all

——"shrink not from hope
In the worst moment of these evil days,—
From *hope*, the paramount *duty* that Heaven lays,
For its own honor, on man's suffering heart."
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

ADMISSION OF TENNESSEE.

TENNESSEE is admitted,—a measure—as Boutwell indicated in his noble protest—adopted *to save or serve the party.* If we understand the plan, it amounts to this: the rebels and negroes, being both disfranchised, will make common cause to secure their rights. The fear of such a coalition succeeding and so placing the State largely in the hands of rebels (since the negroes might naturally adhere to those who had secured them the ballot), this fear, it is supposed, will quicken the Union men to prevent such a result, by themselves making the negroes voters and hence their friends. This is the reed (we wish it were not a broken one) on which the party leans.

The only comment to be made on it is that we yield up a *certain* power—*i.e.*, keeping the rebels out of Congress—for an *uncertain* advantage; that is, the possibility that in the heady currents of Tennessee politics the right will, for the first time in the State's history, triumph. Who will guarantee that in this Tennessee State battle Unionists and rebels may not follow the usual American plan and compromise their differences by both robbing the negro of his rights? Who will guarantee that, even if the disfranchised rebels invite the disfranchised negro to join them and in that way secure control of the State, they will in the hour of victory keep the promise made to him in the hour of peril? Is it to be assumed as *certain* that they will be more honorable than we of the North have been, and honestly keep *the very promise which we have broken by admitting Tennessee as a white man's State?*

Suppose the Unionists call the negro to their aid by generous promises and organize the State to suit themselves, is it absolutely certain that, once in office, they will be honest just where we have been swindlers? No party in the State of Tennessee can ever have more or stronger motives of honor, promise, or self-interest than the nation has at this moment, to do justice to the negro. We have failed. Neither honor, interest nor plighted word has sufficed to make *us* do this justice. No intelligent man believes that Tennessee will. Fearful men shut their eyes, and, not knowing what to do, rush forward to do they know not what. Like desperate gamesters, they hope something will turn up to save them. What may be in store for us no man can tell. In the great Kaleidoscope of the nation's future, no man can read the combinations. All we positively know to-day is that Congress has deliberately yielded to the South and the White House,—betrayed its friends,—given the lie to its repeated pledges,—and done that which its members have, again and again, with all possible solemnity, declared, would be at once the disgrace and death of the nation. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE WORLD MOVES.

We take the subjoined from the Boston *Transcript* of July 28, 1866, as evidence how long it takes the most Anti-Slavery Republican sheet to reach the stand-point of the real Anti-Slavery press. The lines in italics at the close are a quotation from the much-maligned anti-slavery war-cry of last Summer. Hence it takes the best Republican nine months to get his eyes open—or is it his *mouth?*

"Jefferson Davis is now of small account, and Mr. Johnson would obtain little additional discredit even if he should pardon him into the 'National Union party,' and thus make a 'loyal man' of him after the new pattern. As the President of the Confederate States, he was simply the representative man of the rebellion; neither better nor worse than many Southern Johnsonians who, after having been prominent in treason, are now berating Congress as a crew of radicals and disunionists. Indeed, Davis is not half so dangerous a man as Lee, nor half so impudent a one as Orr. The great present peril of the country comes from the fact that the Southern party of reaction, *composed of pardoned rebels, loyal only in a Pickwickian sense, has now the President of the United States at its head.*"

MISTAKEN.

If the following be really the words of John Bright, and if they give the full meaning of his letter, they only show how hard it is for the wisest men to understand the affairs of foreign and distant nations. No Englishman has more thoroughly studied or better understood the great outlines and spirit of our national struggle than John Bright. But he stumbles when he undertakes to criticise *measures.* No American is competent to criticise Mr. Bright's course in relation to the late reform measures. We are not well-informed enough to weigh his reasons or discriminate, at this distance, between the different paths open to him. The same rule holds good of our affairs. If John Bright were here and at work, we should cheerfully trust his judgment.

The following is an extract from a letter received by the last steamer by Speaker Colfax from the Hon. John Bright:

"I watch with great interest what is passing with you. The amendment to your Constitution, just passed Congress, seems to me to include what is really needful, and I hope it will soon receive the sanction of the required number of States to make it final and irrevocable."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

TERRIBLE RIOT IN NEW ORLEANS.

A TERRIBLE riot occurred at New Orleans on the 30th inst. It was called forth by the assembling of a convention of Unionists for a a revision of the State Constitution. The dogs of war are once more loosed upon the defenceless loyal element of the South, and possibly, of the whole country.

A loyal convention, peacefully and rightfully assembled in New Orleans, to deliberate on the welfare of the State, is attacked and dispersed by the rebel police and militia of the city, under command of its Mayor; the members of the convention are imprisoned, those who resist are butchered, loyal Governors are wounded, and caged as malefactors, white Union men are driven from their homes, the rebel flag is raised on reconstructed soil, and a general razzia is proclaimed on all whose loyalty is written of God on their black faces.

And all this by and with the encouragement of the President of the United States!

ORDER FROM PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

WASHINGTON, Monday, July 30, 1866.

To ANDREW S. HERRON, *Attorney-General of Louisiana:*

You will call on Gen. Sheridan, or whoever may be in command, for sufficient force to *sustain the civil authorities* in suppressing all illegal or unlawful assemblies who usurp or *assume to exercise any power or authority* without first having obtained the consent of the people of the State.

If there is to be a Convention, let it be composed of delegates chosen from the people of the whole State.

The people must be first consulted—no changing the organized laws of the State.

Usurpation will not be tolerated.

The law and the Constitution must be sustained, and thereby peace and order. ANDREW JOHNSON.

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 31.

The Associated Press correspondent (Rebel) telegraphs that this order will be promptly executed, and significantly adds that no further disturbance is apprehended.

This order was issued against the protest of the Governor.

How early and openly the President's friends had been conspiring for their recent murder-carnival at New Orleans, is visible from the following dispatch, printed in the N. Y. *Tribune* on the 25th ult:

New Orleans, July 24.—Arrangements have been made to arrest the "Convention plotters" if they attempt to assemble on the 30th, under the recent charge to the Grand Jury.

COPPERHEAD and rebel conventions and mass-meetings in nearly all the Congressional districts of the country, North and South, are electing delegates to the Johnson National Convention.

PERSONAL.

John G. Whittier is at the Isles of Shoals, N. H.

Lucy Stone is spending the Summer with her family on Martha's Vineyard.

Gen. Sheridan's order (says the Daily *News*) forbidding the erection of monuments to commemorate the rebellion, etc., was recalled before publication.

Speaker Colfax declined a nomination tendered him for the Senate. He is to be returned from his old district as a Representative.

Thaddeus Stevens, on being offered a nomination for the Senate, wrote that he would neither do anything to get the position, nor refuse it if conferred upon him. Judge Kelley, Gov. Curtin and J. W. Forney are also candidates.

Mrs. Hanson, an old lady, daughter of a brother of Oliver Goldsmith, and mother of the late Rev. John Halloway Hanson, author of "The Lost Prince," lives at West Hoboken—as the *Tribune* says—"blind, crippled, and suffering for the necessaries of life." She depends on the labors of her daughter, a lady in feeble health. Her grandson fell a victim to the rebellion. Aid may be sent to Frederick Fitzgerald, rector of Trinity Parish, Hoboken, N. J.

The call for a New York State Republican Convention to be held at Saratoga on the 9th inst., for the purpose of sending delegates to the Johnson gathering at Philadelphia, is signed by Cornelius Vanderbilt, John A. Dix, Alex. T. Stewart, Moses Taylor, Samuel Sloan, Daniel Drew, Robert Berdell, Francis B. Cutting, Richard Schell, John Bryan, Marshall O. Roberts, William B. Astor, Hamilton Fish, Francis Skiddy, Leonard W. Jerome, R. M. Blatchford, Andrew Carrigan, Andreas Willmann, Edmund W. Fiske, A. J. Dittenhoefer and William H. Ludlow.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON has been spending a few days with friends in this city and vicinity. He is still suffering severely from injuries received in the shoulder and arm by two successive falls, four months since. Thus far he has been unable to obtain relief, and his symptoms continue to grow more critical. All use of the pen is interrupted, and continued mental effort impossible. In addition to the constant keen physical suffering, it is, as he assured us in a pleasant interview, a great trial to him to be interdicted, in the untoward state of national affairs, from expressing, through the press and otherwise, his earnest solicitude for the welfare of the cause of freedom and impartial justice. He believes that the President, Mr. Seward, and their immediate coadjutors, have determined upon the worst, and are more than likely to resort, at an opportune period, to the *coup d'état*, to consummate their infamous treachery.

LETTER FROM HON. GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, July 25, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I SEE that our friend Wendell Phillips advises the Abolitionists to work, for the present, in the Republican party. There were some four years in which I was myself in favor of their working in it. These were the years when an armed enemy was imperiling the life of our nation. I held that our first duty was to put down that enemy. A few of the Abolitionists thought our first duty was to put down slavery; and they, accordingly, refused to join the nation against the rebellion, save on the condition that the nation should first come out against slavery. But it seemed to me that, come what might from it to the cause of the slave or to any, however cherished, interest or party, it was the duty of all to unite instantly and unconditionally to put down the criminal and causeless rebellion. The Republican party took the like view; and, therefore, I wished all to go with that party.

That was the only time I ever went with the Republican party; but, at that time, I felt entirely free to go with it. When an armed foe has fallen upon the country, and his cause is a wicked and inexcusable one, I vote for the candidate who is the soundest and the ablest against that foe, be he Gov. Seymour or Gen. Wadsworth, Gen. McClellan or Abraham Lincoln. In such circumstances my vote for a Governor or a President is a vote for a military rather than a civil ruler—for a leader in the war rather than in civil affairs. But, at no other time do I allow myself to vote for any men who will not require the laws to be purged of the spirit of caste, and the government to be administered with entire impartiality toward all races and all men. So, too, at no other time can I consent to vote for a candidate who will not require government to suppress the sale of maddening liquors as a beverage. For I contend that the whole of the legitimate province of government is to protect person and property (his reputation, by the way, being the most important and sacred portion of every man's property). But the dram-shop, more than all things else, is the most effectual obstacle to such protection. It is the pre-eminent producer of fires and murders, because it is the pre-eminent manufacturer of madmen. I said *maddening* liquors. For if, as is by many held to be the case with lager beer, the liquor in question but stupefies instead of maddening, it should not, any more than a too heavy dinner, fall under the governmental interdict.

I have been slow to vote for candidates who do not see the wrong of land-monopoly and the wrong of fettering trade with tariffs. Nevertheless, I have never gone so far as to hold that errors of opinion at these points should absolutely exclude from office. This reference to tariffs leads me to add, that the great aim of the wise and disinterested advocates of the "Protective Policy" is to place the manufacturer by the side of the producer, and, in this wise, to reduce the now ruinous cost of transportation to a comparatively small one. This great and just aim I have longed to see realized—though not at the expense of violating the principles of free trade—of violating the natural right to buy and sell freely in all the markets of the world. To such an expense at the present time I can, however, cheerfully consent; for it has the plea of necessity to justify it. The incurring of our great national debt was a necessity. So, too, the paying of it off is a necessity. And a high tariff, with which to help pay it off, is also a necessity. Hence, I can rejoice in the prospect of a high tariff and in its large contributions to the successful establishment of manufactures in our country—aye, even in the remotest parts of our country. These necessities, which I have enumerated, may, none of them, be pleasant. But that out of them will come great advantage to the manufacturing and, therefore, to the agricultural interests of our country, is a very consoling and a very pleasant thought.

To return from this long digression—I wish Mr. Phillips had not advised the Abolitionists to work in the Republican party. They cannot, in this wise, lift it up. It may, in this wise, drag them down. That party did well in the bloody strife. But we have no right to believe that it will do well hereafter. It will take no higher ground than that which Congress has taken. It is even more demoralized by the action of Congress than Congress is by the action of the President. It will acquiesce in the exclusion of the black race from the ballot-box—though knowing, full well, that the exclusion of *races* from political rights will, let Civil Rights Acts provide ever so strongly to the contrary, result in their exclusion from civil rights also. It will not revolt at the unparalleled ingratitude of Congress in throwing back the black saviors of our country under the feet of their old oppressors. With Congress, it will believe, or affect to believe, in the nonsense, that the rebel States will, for the sake of having a few more representatives in Congress, soon grant suffrage to the oppressed race. As if those States, aside from their purpose to take vengeance on the loyal whites in them, cared for aught but to keep the negro in chattel or virtual slavery! What care they to increase their power in Congress! Moreover, if they would increase it, they know that the way to do it is to ally themselves, as of old, to the Northern Democracy; and this they can always do, so long as they trample on the negro. The day on which the Southern States shall do justice to the negro will be the day in which they shall lose their hold on the Northern Democracy. Nay, they will no longer wish to retain that hold. They will then be more drawn to an Anti-Slavery Republicanism than to a Pro-Slavery Democracy.

All must admit that the Civil Rights Act, so confidently relied on to protect the negro, will not be enforced in his behalf after the reins of the General government shall have passed into Democratic hands. That, ere long, they will so pass, is obvious from the fact that Democratic boldness in unrighteousness cannot fail to be an overmatch for Republican cowardice in the cause of righteousness. What is more, in this connection, is that, after the Southern States are again recognized to be in the Union, the Republican and Democratic parties will each claim that *it* has the better title to the favor and votes of those States, by each claiming that it has less zeal than the other for the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act. Neither of them will then stand by that act—by that act, which, notwithstanding all its show of justice, is but a cowardly substitute for justice. It was not a Civil Rights Act that the negro needed for his protection. It was but the impartial recognition of his manhood that he needed. Having that, he could protect himself. Away with this pretended protection, which ties up my hands, and gives me a guard! Give me back my hands, and I can dispense with your guard. Only rob not the negro of the ballot!—of the indispensable means for protecting himself—and he will then need none of this special and empty protection with which you insult him.

I often see it charged that the Abolitionists insist on having "universal negro suffrage" in the "reconstruction." I am not aware that they do. I do myself hold that voting is the natural right of both men and women of all complexions. Nevertheless, slavery has so far unnaturalized both the white and the black people of the South, that I consent to make them an exceptional case, and to admit that an educational voting test be applied to them. Only let the test be uniform. By the way, some of our noblest women take the ground that we should insist on making female suffrage one of the provisions of the "reconstruction." I think they err. They speak as if we were making a new Constitution for the nation, or laying anew the foundation stones of republican government. If we were, the great majority of the Abolitionists would be in favor of including female suffrage. But, in point of fact, the "reconstruction" of the Rebel States is nothing more nor less than a virtual treaty of peace between two nations—the conquering North and the conquered South; and we should not insist on having anything go into it but what is fairly deemed necessary to prevent the breaking out again of the war. It will break out again if suffrage is withheld from the black man. It will, in that case, break out in revenge upon the loyal whites of the South, in persecution of the blacks of the South, and, but too probably, on a much broader, if not indeed on a national scale. But, surely, it cannot be reasonably urged that putting female suffrage into the "reconstruction" will be necessary to keep down the flames of the war. Provision for ten thousand things may be necessary in the laws of the South—not one of all which should be spoken of in a treaty of peace with her.

What an opportunity had Congress to educate and save the nation! Its example of justice—simple and entire justice—would have been this educating and saving power. Does it plead that the President's policy stood in its way? It did. But it could not long have stood against the force of that example. At any rate, nothing is less defensible in morals than to seek to overcome one unprincipled policy by arraying another against it.

This golden opportunity, which Congress had, to enlighten and lift up the nation—the as-well-Pro-Slavery and debased North as the Pro-Slavery and debased South—is lost,—returnlessly and forever lost. For, not only has its trifling with truth and justice rendered it incapable of reascending to the high ground, which, at the beginning of the session, it was disposed to occupy, but it has so far demoralized the people, as to leave them no ear for the sublime words and high resolves which the hour calls for. In all probability, our nation will learn no more of righteousness until she shall have drifted on to another breaking-up. In all probability, she must reach another bloody catastrophe before her sunken soul shall feel another upward impulse. The little moral power there was in this Pro-Slavery nation—the little moral character there was to work upon—has been too far frittered away by this Congress to leave any considerable or encouraging room for efforts to save her. Nevertheless, little as was her virtue, it was much compared with what Congress has left to her. Previous to our nation's treatment of the black man—to her infernal injustice and infamous ingratitude to the race which carried us in its forgiving heart and stalwart arms through the war—previous to her falling in with this thrice-accursed policy of letting our enemies have all political power and therefore all rights, and our black saviors have no political power and therefore no rights—previous, I say, to all this, she was, compared with her present moral poverty, rich in justice and goodness. In the worst periods of her Pro-Slavery criminality, this nation was very far from being as bad as she is now. Then she had not suffered for her sins—but now she has been baptized in blood. Then she was in comparative darkness—now she is in a blaze of light. Let her but fully and finally acquiesce in the abominable Congressional plan of "Reconstruction," and then there will not be on the broad earth another nation so contemptuous as this of the claims of justice and gratitude; so defiant as this of God; so wrongful as this to man. It was for this Congress to restore the South on terms of impartial justice to all her people, and with the permanent view of saving and blessing her. It was for this Congress to deal very kindly with the misguided South, and to remember that, bad as she has been, the North has been as bad; and that bad as she still is, the North is not less so. The Pro-Slavery spirit made both equally bad. Congress should not have insulted the South in the person of Jefferson Davis. One of its first acts should have been to obtain for him an immediate trial or an immediate release.

Very great is the joy that Tennessee has again come into political relations with the Constitution and the Union, and that the other rebel States are probably soon to follow her. For one, I cannot share in this general joy. I have instead deep sorrow. I see no happiness, no peace to come from any "Reconstruction," which denies political rights to the negro. On the contrary I see the fruit of it to be—1st, persecution of the loyal whites of the rebel States; 2d, persecution of the blacks in them; 3d, terrible retaliation for these persecutions; 4th, suffering of the whole nation in just punishment for the whole nation's responsibility for the "Reconstruction." A war of races may not be the only war that will come of this superlatively wicked "Reconstruction."

I know how vain it has ever been for an Abolitionist to speak discouragingly to the American people of the future. He belongs to a class that must not be believed—that must not even be heard. A few smooth prophecies from the lips of a demagogue outweigh all that all the Abolitionists could say to the contrary. I can never forget how much I was laughed at for my abundant and confident predictions, running through a dozen years, that American slavery, unless speedily put away by political action, would go out in blood. Nor can I ever forget that it was held to be very absurd to argue, as I did in the first year of the rebellion, that the freeing and arming of the slaves were the *sine qua non* of our success. What I am writing this hour will meet with no more favor. By the way, I said that an Abolitionist may not even be heard. For far more than thirty years, "Abolitionist" has been the most odious name in the land. It is so even now, because the principles it symbolizes are even now more odious to our tone-giving and fashion-forming classes than are the worst vices. These classes are offended by nothing so much as by the doctrine and spirit of equality. It was from her despising the principles of the Abolitionists, that this nation was broken up—and not until she shall build herself upon these principles will she be safe from convulsions and ruin. In a word, what this nation most needs is, to undergo such a revolution in her principles and spirit, as shall make "Abolitionist" the most popular and cherished of all the names within her borders.

The two most common excuses of Congress for denying suffrage to the negro are—1st, that it has no power under the Constitution to grant it. This is an exceedingly disingenuous excuse. For whether it has or has not the power under the law of the Constitution, all know that it has it under the law of war. The rights of a national conqueror it is for himself alone to limit. The second of these excuses is that legislation must not be carried above public sentiment—which means, in this instance, and generally also, that the Legislature, having by its low legislation debased the public sentiment, is at liberty to quote such sentiment to justify such legislation. I readily admit that there is much in legislation which is to be studiously conformed to the public demand. But that the morality of legislation is to be so conformed is an atheistic doctrine. What shall be the moral character of a law is not what man, but alone what God, would have it to be. That strong and honest man, Thaddeus Stevens, justified his immoral vote on the ground that he lives not in a world of angels, but of men. I do not say that voting, however clearly and uniformly moral it might be, would make this a world of angels. But I do say, that the tendency of all immoral voting is to make it a world fitter for devils than for men. God bless the two men in the Senate and the dozen men in the House, who, when voting on the Tennessee question, recognized His will, and not man's, as their authority!

In closing this letter, let me say that I would not underrate the present Congress. In the main, it is composed of men, who are neither ignorant of the right, nor indifferent to it. Unhappily, they were not sufficiently resolute to follow up their convictions and insist on harvesting the fruits of our dear-bought victory. Alas, that this Congress has, but too probably, left it impossible for these fruits ever to be harvested! Alas, that its mistakes have, but too probably, rendered vain all this expenditure of treasure and blood! The nation must pass through another season of sorrow ere it shall reach its season of joy. Seed must again be sown in tears and blood, ere this nation shall reap its harvest of salvation.

GERRIT SMITH.

LETTER FROM FRANCIS W. NEWMAN.

EXTRACT from a private letter of Francis W. Newman, dated London, Feb. 13, 1866:

"That Messrs. Seward and Stanton have been evi genii to the President, I easily believe. Mr. Seward's Auburn speech was, to me, his final disgrace and condemnation, though, you know, I defended him against you in the earlier period. But Mr. Stanton is a deep dissembler, I have believed since I heard (or, rather, read) ——'s panegyric on him as a warm advocate of justice to the colored race. It is quite evident that he talked Mr. —— over, and delighted him. It has been to me equally certain that the persistent injustice and cruelties of the War Office to the colored race and colored soldiers, which led to Major Stearns's indignant resignation, would have been *impossible*, with Mr. Lincoln as President, had not Mr. Stanton been profoundly wrong—for no one doubts Mr. Stanton's energy and determination. But, granting that the Cabinet is more to blame than the President, yet, in constitutional action, it is essential to hold the President as personally responsible; and when you have opponents who are bigoted in wrong, and fanatically energetic, you have no chance of success in compromise and half measures. Indeed, when the interests to be sacrificed are not all given over, I think the trimming of politicians is not to be endured or palliated. Politicians among you seem to be animals of the same species as with us. They are bold as lions, if some gainful usurpation is to be perpetrated—a province to be seized, or a city bombarded; but if some deed of justice is proposed, they are seized with qualms of timidity, in the very proportion of its greatness, and wish, at least *for safety's sake*, to do the thing gradually and spread it over several generations.

"I understand this better when they have to justify their conduct to a selfish oligarchy; but when their tribunal is the mass of millions, whose only support is absolute justice, I marvel at politicians being afraid of not getting support from their constituents. Plain, warm-hearted, bold speech is *sure* to carry the heart of the millions. I am, ever yours,

"F. W. NEWMAN."

SALLIE HOLLEY AT FLORENCE, MASS.

NORTHAMPTON, July 18, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

LAST Sunday afternoon Sallie Holley occupied the desk of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, and although the weather was extremely warm, a good audience assembled and listened with unflagging interest to her elegant and thrilling appeals in behalf of justice to the down-trodden. Few speakers are more effective than Miss Holley. She quickens the religious sentiments, awakening the conscience, like an inspired prophetess. The attitude of our nation with reference to the colored people she portrayed in vivid colors. Among the auditors were a black man and his wife, formerly slaves, and recently from Virginia. Miss Holley's was probably the first anti-slavery discourse they ever heard. They were evidently delighted to hear so powerful an appeal in behalf of their afflicted brethren. At the close of the lecture they came forward to grasp her hand.

Calvin Fairbanks, who lives in the adjoining town of Williamsburg, and who suffered eighteen years' imprisonment and cruel scourgings in a Southern penitentiary for doing the Christian deed of letting the oppressed go free, was present at the meeting. Mrs. Fairbanks, by whose untiring efforts Mr. F. was finally liberated, was also present. At the close of the meeting, Mr. Fairbanks rose and paid a high tribute to the value and usefulness of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, to which Miss Holley had called for subscriptions.

As some of the readers of THE STANDARD may like to know what is the character of the platform of the Free Congregational Society of Florence, I give here a copy of the

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

We, the undersigned, inhabitants of Florence and its vicinity in the town of Northampton, wishing to avail ourselves of the advantages of associate effort for our advancement in truth and goodness, and for the promotion of general intelligence, good morals and liberal religious sentiments, do hereby agree to form ourselves into a body corporate under the name of the FREE CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY OF FLORENCE.

Respecting in each other and in all, the right of intellect and conscience to be free, and holding it to be the duty of every one to keep his mind and heart, at all times, open to receive the truth and follow its guidance, we set up no theological condition of membership and neither demand nor expect uniformity of doctrinal belief, asking only unity of purpose to seek and accept the right and true, and an honest aim and effort to make these the rule of life. And, recognizing the brotherhood of the human race, and the equality of human rights, we make no distinction as to the conditions and rights of membership in this society on account of sex, or color or nationality.

The officers of this Society shall be a Moderator, Clerk, and Treasurer, who shall be first chosen at the first business meeting of the Society, and afterwards at each annual meeting thereof, and shall perform the customary duties of their respective offices.

The Society shall hold its annual meeting on the first Monday in April, at such hour and place as the Moderator of the preceding year shall appoint

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, July 21, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SINCE Johnson's last veto, the denunciation of his course has been more emphatic and more general than hitherto. Many people in this section, who have been silent and apparently indifferent regarding his action, are now severe in their strictures and unreserved in their reproaches. Irreverence has taken the place of apology, and contumely dwells where there was respect, if not admiration. Some who had long hoped that the President would change his course, now cry out against him, and their contemptuous words show the disdain they feel. These men are not such as have any special affection for the Radicals. Their antipathy to them may be as earnest as that shown towards the unprincipled man at the White House, and quite as accordant with their character and ideas. But they are averse to affiliation with such political elements as are rapidly gathering to the standard of Andrew Johnson. This week I have heard him denounced by men who are in the habit of expending their scorn upon those who countenance, even mildly, the cause of the negro. He is being abandoned by men not prone to virtue, and whose estimate of moral and political duty is of an inferior grade. Even the vulgar and the gross despise him—such as one might suppose would cling to him with consistent tenacity. In the same breath they upbraid the President and revile the negro. Verily, Mr. Johnson has sunk to an exceedingly low value. When such as these forsake him, what can be the moral worth of those who remain to give him comfort and offer their support?

Some who have been slow in condemning Johnson, who have not been ready until now to frown upon his guilty course, may perhaps incline to a more charitable view of the claims made for the colored man. They may be more willing to listen to argument, give heed to appeal, and a reasonable sanction to humane and just action in his behalf. At all events, the hour does not forbid labor. While all around we see the old enemies of liberty organizing into a new fraternity, the friends of freedom and humanity should be stimulated to vigorous effort. Radical politicians should yield to none of the restraints which expediency imposes. Now is the time for noble utterance, for diffusing the best thoughts of the best men, and for declaring in favor of the highest principles of just government. While men of dishonored careers, men of culpable notoriety, and the advocates of a dark, obnoxious political creed, are filling the air with their sentiments, and striving to gain full ascendency, is it well for the champions of liberty and truth to stand idle? Is it right for them to manifest any degree of timidity, or to show the least deference to a false and fatal policy, by uncertain language such as cowards breathe? Courage in upholding one's principles is always commendable; and in an hour as propitious as the present, there is no apology for obscure, unmeaning or ambiguous phrase. Too frequently Republican speakers carefully poise their words to suit occasions, fearing to express openly and manfully their real convictions, and most liberal, most advanced thoughts.

The latest demonstration made in this vicinity by the admiring friends and servitors of Andrew Johnson, was at Reading, Berks county. This is the great Democratic stronghold of the State, and which so long resisted the establishment of common schools in our midst. With unerring instinct, Johnson's followers discovered the fitness of a display in the benighted county of Berks. That ancient Democratic politician, Richard Vaux, of this city, presided over the meeting. George H. Pendleton, of the McClellan ticket, and Montgomery Blair, were among the speakers. Vaux was filled with courage and hope, because "he could see the black cloud of New England Abolitionism rolling away." He still insanely prates, as formerly, about the "Constitution as it was, and the Union as our fathers made it," a habit that will cling to him as long as he has the power of utterance. This superannuated politician storms with vindictive rage against New England and the Freedmen's Bureau, which he styles "a machine got up to feed starving Yankees." He declares it to be the greatest humbug ever invented, and courteously suggests that New England should keep her women at home, instead of sending them down South "to teach little niggers how to read." Poor Vaux is tired of Yankee influence." Alas that he should manifest, in word and thought, association and moral habitude, so little susceptibility to that influence—such a feeble appreciation of its sublime worth! It is natural that such a man should condemn such an influence; for, in a heart where the dark spirit of slavery has infused its poison, and where dwells all that is illiberal concerning politics and government, we cannot hope to find approval of that large-hearted beneficence which sheds its light abroad, even penetrating the wretched cabin of the despised negro.

Montgomery Blair took occasion to extol and eulogize the party with which he has recently formed an alliance, and declared that he was proud of the connection. He believed the next war would be in the North—in Pennsylvania; and, in order to prevent this war, and secure peace, the Democratic party must hurl the Radicals from the places they occupy. What seemed most to burden the mind of this individual, was the refusal to allow the Southern States representation in Congress. This was likewise the case with Pendleton. Were the representatives which the South would inevitably send to Congress not in harmony with the Democratic party, I wonder how much concern these men would show in their behalf. The strength which their admission and presence would give to the party of Copperheads, is a consideration which perhaps never occurs to these anxious gentlemen. All they think of, judging from their words and their solicitude, is the good of the South—the wronged, the injured South, and never of the party that must derive added power through such representation!

The resolutions adopted at the Berks county meeting were permeated throughout with the old Democratic odor. They evince the accustomed base spirit and foul purpose, and are darkly vitalized with all the features of a gross, satanic policy. They praise the Democratic party, hold the Republicans accountable for the war, denounce the proceedings of the Radicals in Congress as lawless and revolutionary, tender hearty thanks to President Johnson, oppose negro suffrage, pay a peculiar kind of respect to the black troops and to New England fanaticism, and approve of the call for the August Convention.

Did you ever see Democratic resolves that pointed to something high and holy! Did you ever find in them a source of hope and cheer, or anything akin to moral grandeur or moral purity, indicating progress towards truth and universal justice? Their perusal never inspires the soul or warms the heart into ecstacy, and no promise of exalted effort lies hidden there to gladden the champions of true liberty and encourage the labors bestowed upon humanity. Usually they are but the corrupt scurf of impure spirits, the vitiated breath of unhallowed souls prone to degeneracy.

A marked quietness prevails here at present with regard to matters of general interest. Now and then a word is spoken with reference to politics and candidates, but no anxiety seems to exist concerning the Fall elections. They are yet too far off to claim active notice. The friends of Judge Kelley seem not to distrust the probability of his re-nomination and election. His path seems clear. Postmaster Walborn still considers himself a competitor for the seat, and continues to desire to be regarded as a candidate. He will never be guilty of fettering the situation with doubt. I understand that he means to remain a candidate to the end, provided he is sure of receiving the support and countenance of at least *one* vote.

Judge Kelley's name is among that number—that very small number—who voted against the admission of Tennessee. The *Tribune* says, "The twelve votes against it were merely scattering, and have no party significance, only a stern devotion to a principle." *Only* a stern devotion to a principle! Is not that enough? Is it not far more praiseworthy than the result aimed at; for what has Tennessee done that honest men should sacrifice principle in her behalf? How much nearer are we to the reign of equal justice and the sway of universal right, by reason of her adoption of the Amendment? Is she any better—are her people any worthier—than before, that a lofty and honorable position should be abandoned for her sake? The *Tribune* might be proud to merit the compliment that lies hidden beneath its careless words, which disparage, as of the most trifling account, an instance of faithful adherence to principle. W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, July 30, 1866.

WHAT with the discouragement of previous failures, and the intense direction of the public mind towards other matters of absorbing interest, the news, yesterday, of a successful completion of the Atlantic Telegraph enterprise, fell upon the public ear as a fiction rather than a reality. People took it coolly, as a thing that might be true or might not. This morning, however, the daily press seems awake to its importance, especially in view of the immense significance of the news of peace in Europe, which was almost the first fact transmitted by the completed submarine wire. The duration of peace, however, between such governments, moved by such impulses of selfish hope and fear, and feeling such mutual and well-founded distrust of each other, is among those doubtful things that are very uncertain.

The *Congregationalist*, of this city, says of Wendell Phillips's late appeal to the clergy of the loyal States to help in the effort towards national reconstruction on a basis of justice, "This appeal has many points of significance;" it goes on to rejoice in this public recognition (which it seems to suppose a novelty among Abolitionists) of "the power of the pulpit;" and, in closing, it declares its conviction that the Northern clergy will be found "now, *as ever*, true to God and their country, to the cause of justice and humanity."

It was well, no doubt, to make the appeal which has given rise to this comment. It is always well to call sinners to repentance. But sinners resemble spirits in this particular: they often fail to come when they are called for.

The power of the clergy has always been acknowledged by the Abolitionists. Nothing has been more common than for them to say, through the whole course of the Anti-Slavery struggle, that slavery might be overthrown in a single year, if the clergy of the various sects would unite in a determined assault upon it. At the opening of Mr. Garrison's enterprise, he made special appeal to ministers to raise their voices against oppression, and enlist their people in an effort to overthrow slavery. But not only did this appeal utterly fail, but the most serious defections from the Anti-Slavery cause, at different points in its progress, were led by clergymen, who tried to divide and weaken the Abolitionist body, but did *not* make any persistent effort to separate the church from complicity with slavery.

I think the *Congregationalist's* remark, above quoted, is true to this extent, that the Northern clergy will be as true to the cause of justice and humanity *as they were before*—before the war forced the government to attack slavery—before military necessity uttered the powerful voice which the occupants of the pulpit shrank from uttering—before the men who, as church-members, had always quietly tolerated slavery, found themselves obliged to oppose it as politicians and patriots. The ministers then waited for the people to lead, as far as interference with slavery was concerned; and they will probably still pursue the same policy, and do no more (as a body) to stir up the people against Andrew Johnson's misgovernment of the freedmen than they did against Polk's, and Tyler's, and Pierce's and Buchanan's misgovernment of the slaves. One point the change of times has certainly gained us. The clergy will not *oppose* help to the freedmen, as they did help to the slaves.

Speaking of the clergy reminds me to say, that the afternoons of these hot Summer Sundays show a very marked diminution of attendance on the church services of even the stricter sects. To this circumstance is probably owing the suggestion lately made in various quarters, of the expediency of changing the time, or reducing the number, of the Sunday services that tradition has handed down to us. It has always been a question whether, a tendency to drowsiness on Sunday afternoon being an actually existing fact, it had better be gratified in church or at home. The difference now is, that it is getting to be thought that the church should yield somewhat to the people; not the people always to the church.

It is noted here as a remarkable coincidence that the 14th of August, the time appointed for the assemblage of the Philadelphia Convention, is the anniversary of Jeff Davis's famous Proclamation banishing all loyal men from the South. This morning's papers show us that Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens purposes to be present at that convention. The same post brings the news that Rev. R. G. Gardiner, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, laboring among the freedmen in Kentucky, has been assaulted with brutal violence, and commanded to leave the place, solely because he is the friend and helper of the colored people. The South is not yet cured of her habit of "banishing" friends of freedom. NORTH.

LITERARY.

IN its notices of *Contemporary Literature*, the *Westminster Review* says:

"M. Auguste Laugel has just published, both in French and English, those admirable letters on the United States during the war, which he originally sent to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in the Autumn of 1864 and the Spring of 1865. We know not of a more reliable account. The varied accomplishments, acute political discrimination, and sympathetic insight into the various tendencies, not only of the two great parties into which the United States may at present be said to be divided, but also into all the cross divisions between east and west, make this volume in the highest degree valuable. It is greatly to be regretted that the best books on America should be written by Frenchmen; that it should be so is very natural, but it is not the less to be deplored both by Americans and Englishmen. We on each side of the Atlantic are too much alike, and our feelings partake of the nature of family jealousies. We dwell upon our differences, and take but little notice of what we have in common; like members of the same household, who do not see their family likeness, but take notice only of the marks which distinguish them from one another. The sharp sayings and mutual *boutades* which pass between us would be intolerable were it not for the fund of unexpressed esteem which they disguise and cover. One of the most important effects of the war, a result that was continually thrusting itself on M. Laugel's observation, is the manner in which it has, as it were, pulled the United States together, and given them a strong national feeling and determined union, founded in common suffering and combined exertion for a noble and national aim, that will henceforth hold in adequate subjection the otherwise desirable local patriotism of the particular States. The Union is well worth the enormous price that has been paid for it, and now the price itself has become an external testimony to those whose prejudices blind them to its value. M. Laugel might very justifiably have given a more comprehensive title to his work, for his review of the condition of parties before the outbreak of the war, and his history of the movements connected with it, is [are] so complete, and at the same time so disengaged from transitory and unimportant particulars, that it affords the clearest and most intelligible account extant of the whole struggle. His chapter on the populations of the West is deserving of the fullest attention; their character and tendencies have never been so well described, and their importance on the future of the great Republic cannot be over-estimated.

"The true America," says M. Laugel, "only begins for the Western farmer on his own slope of the Alleghany chain; the national pride that burns in his heart is not fed by democratic passion alone; it is also inspired by the sight of those boundless plains open to his ambition, by those giant rivers, some running to the polar regions, others to the tropic seas. The old States have remained in many respects dependent on Europe. They borrow from it not only goods and machines, but ideas. The West entirely escapes the European influence. By I cannot tell what inexplicable charm, what powerful fascination, those who go towards the Rocky Mountains never look back to the Atlantic. The emigrant from New England never regrets on the prairies the hills where he was born; the Irishman never dream of going back to his damp island; the German himself, faithful still to his native language, becomes unfaithful to his country. From these varied sources springs a new race, strong as the generous soil that rears it, proud and independent. The love of liberty and the feeling of equality become like congenital passions for it; its political convictions are not, as with the European, arms against a tyranny; it is not obliged to wrap them in formulas; its faith is a living faith. It is of the American of the West, above all, that it can be said that he not only believes himself to be, but that he is, the equal of all around him. The democratic spirit of the West is the virgin material that nothing has as yet tarnished."

The Friend for August is received.—*Littell's Living Age*, the *Evangelical Repository*, the *American Freedman*, and the *Freedman's Record*, are on our table.—The August number of the *Herald of Health* (which is now conducted by George Bungay) contains several articles on hygienic and kindred subjects, by eminent authors; while the *Phrenological Journal* has, as usual, a more varied miscellany of digestible information than is elsewhere found in similar publications.—The *Young Folks* announces, as a new feature, "a series of first-class full-page illustrations, one or more in each number." In the *Atlantic*, which this time is not very lively, the solid, though not heavy, element is represented by Professor Agassiz's second article on the Physical History of the Valley of the Amazon—fresh from the industrious naturalist's South-American tour; and by a pleasant entomological discursion: "How My New Acquaintances Spin." Mrs. Stowe has—spite of the heat—a comfortable nook in the chimney corner for those socially inclined; and Hawthorne's odds-and-ends are, as usual, thrust on us *sans discrétion*. Charles Reade's story has enough of the thrilling, at least, in the present installment.—*Every Saturday* has commenced to give Henry Kingsley's new novel: "Silcote of Silcotes."

THE poet Longfellow, it is said, has completed his translation of Dante, soon to be published. Cary's translation—the standard English version—is in blank verse, to which no reader of Dante can be thoroughly reconciled. Mr. Longfellow is not accustomed to shrink from the difficulties of rhyme, and will, no doubt, be found to have adopted the trying *terza rima* of the original.

WHO WAS JENNY?

Mr. Editor: In that rare collection of good things, the first volume of Sargent's "Gem Series," entitled "The Emerald," I find the following poem by Leigh Hunt:

Jenny kissed me when we met,
Jumping from the chair she sat in;
Time, you thief! who love to get
Sweets into your list, put that in!

Say I'm weary, say I'm sad;
Say that health and wealth have missed me;
Say I'm growing old; but add—
Jenny kissed me!

I quote the above lines, because, since death has removed the "Jenny" referred to, it will be no breach of good manners to say that she was Jane Welsh Carlyle, wife of Thomas Carlyle, the celebrated author. The occasion on which this celebrated kiss was given was when Leigh Hunt brought her the intelligence that the British government had given a life pension to her husband. Mrs. Carlyle at once impulsively jumped up and kissed the venerable bearer of the good news. V. V.

PERSONAL SKETCHES OF TENNYSON.

A writer, styling himself "Harry Harewood Leach," writes a letter about Tennyson, from which we make the following extracts: "He (Tennyson) is perhaps five feet nine inches in height, but he stoops much as he walks and thus looks shorter. He does not seem to be above fifty years of age; yet his gait is feeble, and the wearing of glasses adds to the impression of being older. His dress is extremely old-fashioned; indeed, he looks more like an old picture stepping out of a frame than a gentleman of the nineteenth century. His coat, short in the waist, was of a gray mixed color, and fitted him very tight; vest and trowsers of the same material. Around his ample shirt collar a black cravat was loosely tied. But nothing could detract from the power of his massive forehead, high and broad, and nothing could be more picturesque than the long black hair, fine as silk (but plentifully mixed with gray), which fell over his fine head down even to his shoulders. His eyes are dark gray, I think, and have the peculiar appearance about the lids common to all students, and especially night readers, which is very clearly perceived and defined by photographs of the poet. His mouth is constantly smiling, but his eyes seem to be absent while he is speaking, searching everywhere for something that is not present—that strange, speculative look that is not easy to convey by description, and must be comprehended rather than clearly defined. His voice is rich and sonorous, but he chooses his words slowly, and, I should think by this, betrays that his composition is equally careful and slow."

ART ITEMS.

A portrait of President Lincoln, executed in enamel-mosaic by Signor Salviati, an artist of Venice, was sent by him to Congress as a token of regard to the memory of the deceased President.

Miss Minnie Ream has, by resolution of Congress, been intrusted with making a marble statue of Lincoln, for $10,000.

In the same way, an equestrian statue of the late Lieut.-Gen Scott, which is to be made of guns captured in Mexico, and to be placed over his grave at West Point, was ordered of Mr. H. L. Brown, of Newburg, N. Y.

"At the close of this meeting Prof. Tyler announced the recent gift to the college of a statue of Demosthenes by the president of the alumni, Henry G. DeForest, and stated that it might be visited in his recitation room. The bust is cut from the nicest Italian marble, and is a fine specimen of art and fidelity to nature."

We clip the above from an account of the commencement at Amherst. It would be interesting to know whether the gift is of a bust or a statue, and if the latter, whether it is a copy of the fine statue at the Vatican, of which so few copies are found in this country.

CONGRESS AND WASHINGTON.

July 25, Senate—E. G. Ross, vice James H. Lane, deceased, of Kansas, and Jos. S. Fowler, of Tennessee, were sworn in as Senators.—House.—Bills, to prevent naval officers losing promotion because of wounds received in the service, to incorporate the National Farm School for colored children, to prevent U. S. Judges appointing their relatives to clerkships, to restore the possession of lands confiscated by rebel authorities, and to give U. S. Courts power to grant *habeas corpus* writs against unlawful prosecutions, were passed. The bill to protect citizens of the U. S. in the enjoyment of like privileges and immunities in the several States, and that amending the National Currency Act, were postponed to Dec. The Tennessee members were granted payment from March 4, 1865, and Messrs. Cooper and Leftwich, of that State, were sworn in as Representatives. The report of the Committee on the Memphis riots was presented and ordered to be printed.—July 26, Senate—On motion of Mr. Sumner, Senator-elect Patterson's credentials were referred to the Judiciary Committee. The Deficiency bill was passed.—House.—Bills granting lands for the Central Pacific Railroad and Telegraph lines, distributing the Jeff. Davis and Wilkes Booth rewards, etc., requiring brevet appointments to be accompanied by statements of reasons therefor, and modifying the Neutrality laws, were passed—the latter unanimously. The disagreement to the Senate amendments of the Tariff bill, was, notwithstanding the action of a Conference Committee, insisted on. The Committee on Appropriations was instructed to add the Bounty equalization to the Civil Appropriation ("Omnibus") bill.—July 27-28, Senate—After the appointment and report of a second Conference Committee on the Tariff bill, the same was passed. Also, the bill authorizing the metric system of weights and measures. The bill admitting Nebraska was rushed through by three distinct efforts, under what may be termed "*inside pressure*"—Mr. Sumner's faithful opposition at each stage availing nothing against the predetermination of the caucus, and only four voting with him to make the admission conditional on impartial suffrage. Seven Republicans voted against the final passage. There was much discussion on the Bounty bill—the measure being, on Mr. Yates's confession, a political trick to checkmate the President in the game for popularity. After a quantity of talk, a joint resolution admitting "Senator" Patterson on taking a modified oath, was adopted, 35 to 2. Later, another resolution admitting him on taking the usual oath, passed, 21 to 11. The pay of Congressmen was raised to $5,000. The Senate sat all night—taking a recess from 7:30 to 9 a.m. on the 28th. At 9 o'clock, 3 Senators and the President *pro tem* being present, another recess till 10 o'clock was "unanimously" ordered. The Conference report on the Army bill was agreed to; among 27 batallions of infantry, it provides for 4 colored. Likewise, the conference report giving additional bounties. "Senator" Patterson was sworn in. A resolution granting the use of a public building for "Fenian" purposes—another bid for popularity—and the House joint resolution, exempting United States Army officers and soldiers from the income tax, passed. At 5 p.m. the Senate adjourned, without day.—House—The Judiciary Committee reported on the complicity of Jefferson Davis in the assassination of Lincoln and the Andersonville atrocities. More testimony was promised; but, as it stood, the report inclined very unfavorably to the assumption of Davis's innocence. The proposition to rebuild the Mississippi levees was lost, apparently on the ground of the continued disloyalty of the South. *The resolution giving payment to "loyal" slaveholders for enlisted slaves, was passed*, without a "division." The bill establishing an air-line railroad between Washington and New York—time limited to 7 hours, fare to 3 cts. per mile—was passed. A bill providing for a system of edqcation in the army and for promotions from the ranks, was postponed till December. The Conference report on the Tariff bill was, after some more haggling about wool and cigars, agreed to. The Senate resolution modifying the test-oath in the case of Patterson, of Tennessee, was tabled—88 to 31—after a long discussion, in the course of which a letter from Tennessee-Congressman Stokes, dated May 10, 1861, and strongly advising "resistance to Lincoln and to coercion" and favoring the recognition of the confederacy, was read by Mr. Eldridge. The bill admitting Nebraska came up. Through a disgraceful trick by Mr. Rice, of Maine, Judge Kelley's amendment, making impartial suffrage a condition of admission, was denied the test of a vote, and the bill was passed—53 to 52—by the Speaker's casting vote in the affirmative. Mr. Stevens spoke against the admission. The Conference report on the Army bill was agreed to. The House, or what was present of it, wrangled during nearly the entire night with the Senate on the two leading *engrafted* features of the Civil Appropriation (or "carry-all") bill; namely, the Bounty "equalization" or "distribution" scheme, which Mr. Wilson had, during the last four months, vainly endeavored to have the Senate accept, in one form or another, and the proposition to raise the pay of Congressmen, which the House had rejected by the emphatic vote of 125 to 3. Each body insisted on its likes and dislikes, until 7½ in the morning of the 28th, when the labors of two successive Conference Committees had culminated in gluing the two measures together and thus making the twain acceptable to both Houses. There were ludicrous scenes in the House, when members, formerly violent in their opposition to more pay, came forward to justify their affirmative votes as being induced by a regard for the soldiers, who would otherwise lose the benefit of the bounty plan coupled therewith; and when others requested these members to pledge themselves to pay the objectionable excess on their own salaries to the soldiers' fund, which some agreed to do. The coupled propositions passed by a majority of one. The Senate bill donating building lots for colored soldiers in Washington was passed. Mr. Stevens made a final speech in favor of one of his Reconstruction bills. Resolutions of thanks to the Speaker were unanimously adopted. A minority report from the Judiciary Committee, on the complicity of Jefferson Davis in the assassination of Lincoln, was presented. A veto of the bill erecting the Territory of Montana into a surveying district and donating certain public lands therein to a private corporation, was received and referred. Mr. Colfax delivered a short valedictory speech, was cheered, and, at about 5 p.m. on the 28th, the House adjourned, without day.

During the week, Gens. Steedman and Fullerton, of the War Department, returned from their Southern raid, and the former was appointed Superintendent of Public Printing, vice Defrees, removed, in pursuance of "my policy." The General, not being a practical printer, was compelled to decline that reward of his Southern labors. The nominations of Grant and Farragut to their new honors were sent to the Senate unincumbered by other appointments, to insure rapid action, and the Senate confirmed them without the usual formality of a reference. A. W. Randall was confirmed as Postmaster-General. Secretary-of-the-Interior Harlan resigned, and Orville H. Browning, of Ill., the last prominent Johnson man readily available, was appointed instead, and confirmed. The change dates from September 1, 1866. Judge Edmonds (who is *not* a politician) was removed as Commissioner of the Land Office, and his successor, J. S. Wilson, of the Treasury Department, was confirmed. Senator Clark, of New Hampshire, was appointed U. S. District Judge of that State. The confirmation of Gen. Fry as Brevet Major-General was recalled by the Senate (probably in view of the recent revelations in the House concerning his action in the Fry-Conkling dispute).

THE PRESS.

ON THE PHILADELPHIA AND SARATOGA JOHNSON CONVENTIONS.

N. Y. Times.

July 25.—There are devoted representatives from Tennessee and Arkansas, against whom Congress has kept its doors closed for eight long months. There are upright and honest representatives from Mississippi, who accept the results of the war as evidence that secession was a snare, and who return cordially to their allegiance. With these, and all Southern men who think and act with them, the Conservative Republicans and War Democrats offer and intend to unite heartily in an effort to restore national Union and brotherhood.

July 27.—The names attached to the address indorsing the movement for a national Union party, in this State, are the best answer to those who have alleged that the conservative element in the Union party lacks strength. Stronger names, or names more certain to command public attention and confidence, could not have been obtained. They are the most solid of all the solid men of the city. They expect nothing, seek nothing, want nothing, as individuals in connection with political affairs. *They embrace Democrats equally with Republicans.*

N. Y. News.

July 24.—Mr. Raymond and the *Times* have no option; they *must* go with the Philadelphia Convention. Knowing this fact, the *Times* again comes out in favor of the Convention.

July 26.—We desire that the Convention shall be very largely attended and that it shall result in the establishment of a league between all those, whatever may have been their past action, opinions or affiliations, who are *now* loyal to the Union, and opposed to the revolutionary schemes of the Radical party. It is clear enough that by such an alliance they would elect a majority of the Northern members of the next House of Representatives, and thereby secure the adoption of the President's "Plan," and the re-establishment of the Union. It is to accomplish these patriotic purposes that we support the Convention.

July 28.—If the genuine Democracy of the whole country are willing to sit in convention with those who "aided and abetted" the outrageous and unconstitutional acts of the party in power during the past five years, and who justified the crimes of men like Butler and the treason of men like Sumner, we think that the less those *Times* people say in favor of excluding *anybody* the better.

N. Y. Tribune.

July 21.—It is only as a make-weight between two great, earnest, contending hosts that Randallism enjoys or deserves the slightest consideration. For this shadow of a faction to talk of excommunicating a real party, numbering some two millions of legal voters, is an assumption so stupendous as to be absurd. But every interest and every faction hostile to Equal Rights for All Men will be congenial to and welcomed to seats in the Randall Convention.

July 26.—If "Copperheads" and ex-rebels do not attend the Convention, the prime object of which was to rally the South to the defense of the President, and to form a new party out of all the odds and ends of opposition, who will remain!

Brooklyn Union.

July 27.—Two classes will certainly be well represented at Philadelphia—the rebels and the "weak knees."

N. Y. World.

July 28.—With popular movements the gentlemen who sign the call for the Saratoga Convention are not always in the closest sympathy. * * But they want the Union restored, and they want it restored at once, and when they get to Philadelphia that will be what they will join in demanding, and it will be all they will demand. They are not seeking for a political alliance at the South with the *cowards and the cravens who now, for the sake of offices, pretend to have been found faithful among a faithless eight millions.* The South, at any rate, may be assured that *the squeamishness or the intolerance of the Saratoga Convention has no wider reach than the limits of this State, and relates only to our State politics.*

[By the term "cowards and cravens," in the above extract, are evidently meant the so-called "Southern (white) Union men;" as, for instance, Gov. Hamilton of Texas, John Minor Botts of Virginia, and (the *late*) Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.]

N. Y. Post.

July 21.—The people are quietly waiting to see what will turn up, and who will rule at Philadelphia. * * We have only to repeat, that we are glad this Convention is to meet. It can do no harm; and it may do some and even much good. We are not afraid of the American people; if the Convention is composed of patriotic and prudent men, and adopts sound principles, it will deserve to gain favor; if it is in the hands of the riff-raff of Copperhead intriguers and politicians who now lay claim to it, the people will have nothing to do with it.

N. Y. Herald.

July 28.—* * But while everybody is preparing to go to the National Union gathering, it is singular that each of the cliques and factions wants to keep all the rest out. We should like to know why. What is there about the Wood Brothers, for instance, that unfits them to sit in the big wigwam with Weed and Raymond? It is much better to take the only true ground and advocate the admission of all comers. One clique will then neutralize another, and we shall get a moral force from the combined influence of the Convention that will work most powerfully in the Fall elections. These squabbles beforehand over Mr. Ben Wood's dirty linen or Mr. Weed's dirty linen can amount to nothing. All the linen will be made pure and spotless by the Convention. Those whose sins were as scarlet will come forth white as snow.

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CARHART & NEEDHAM,

ESTABLISHED 1846,

Are the oldest manufacturers of improved Reed Instruments in the United States, and are the inventors and patentees of the essential improvements made in this class of instruments up to the present date.

During this long period they have manufactured a vast number of instruments of all styles; AND WHEREVER THEY HAVE BEEN EXHIBITED IN COMPETITION WITH THE INSTRUMENTS OF OTHER MAKERS, THEY HAVE INVARIABLY TAKEN THE HIGHEST PREMIUM.

THE LAST TRIUMPH OF CARHART & NEEDHAM.

At the Fair of the American Institute held in New York in 1865, Carhart & Needham received the *Special Gold Medal over* all other reed instruments in competition. The judges were Dr. Wm. Berge, C. B. Seymour (critic of the N. Y. Times), Thomas Appleton, organ builder of Boston, George Gardiner, organ builder of New York, and Dr. E. Ringer, an expert.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SEVERAL REPORTS OF THE JUDGES:

From report of Dr. Wm. Berge.

"The quality of the tone is the best I have ever heard; and the number of stops surpassed my expectations. The delicacy of *touch* and the quickness of *speech* are remarkable. I consider the Parlor Organ of Carhart & Needham to be the best on exhibition, and entitled to the highest award of the Institute."

From the report of C. B. Seymour.

"The undersigned thinks it proper to suggest that Carhart & Needham should receive a Special First Premium for their large Parlor Organ."

From report of Thomas Appleton.

"No. 526 is the best for, 1st, It contains more reeds and of greater variety than any other.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE MINER.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Down 'mid the tangled roots of things
That coil about the central fire,
I seek for that which giveth wings,
To stoop, not soar, to my desire,

Sometimes I hear, as 'twore a sigh,
The sea's deep yearning far above.
"Thou hast the secret not," I cry,
"In deeper deeps is hid my Love."

They think I burrow from the sun,
In darkness, all alone and weak;
Such loss were gain if He were won,
For 'tis the sun's own Sun I seek.

The earth, they murmur, is the tomb
That vainly sought his life to prison;
Why grovel longer in its gloom?
He is not here; He hath arisen.

More life for me where He hath lain
Hidden, while ye believed him dead,
Than in cathedral's cold and vain,
Built on loose sands of "It is said."

My search is for the living gold,
Him I desire who dwells recluse,
And not his image, worn and old,
Day-servant of our sordid use.

If Him I find not, yet I find
The ancient joy of cell and church,
The glimpse, the surety undefined,
The unquenched ardor of the search.

Happier to chase a flying goal,
Than to sit counting laurelled gains,
To guess the Soul within the soul,
Than to be lord of what remains.

Atlantic Monthly for August.

ALL ABOUT COFFEE.

In the trade, five principal kinds of coffee are enumerated—or rather, five sorts—according to the different countries from whence they come, although all derived from the same kind of coffee tree, *Coffee Aribica*. These five kinds are as follows:

1st. Mocha coffee, thus called from the country whence this kind of coffee originates, a plant now so commonly spread over every American colony. The grain of this coffee is generally round and small. From Mocha coffee is derived the most sweet and agreeable beverage; it is also the most esteemed, the dearest, and holds the first rank in the trade.

2d. The Bourbon coffee, cultivated in the island of Bourbon; for some time it occupied the second place in quality, but the *gourmets* prefer it to coffee from Martinique or Guadaloupe.

3d. There are several kinds of Martinique or Guadaloupe, distinguished by the various preparations.

4th. The Cayenne coffee. This kind is less known on account of the small quantity cultivated there, and introduced into trade. The kind is superior to the Martinique coffee.

5th. The St. Domingo coffee, in which is comprised that from Porto Rico, and other leeward islands, is considered inferior to the four other kinds.

It is not exactly known who introduced the custom of taking coffee. Some attribute its use to the prior of a convent, who, becoming acquainted with the properties of this plant by the effect it produced on the goats who fed upon it, tried its influence on his monks, in order to keep them awake during divine service. According to others, the discovery is due to a mufti, who, wishing to surpass in devotion the most religious dervishes, made use of coffee so as to banish sleep, and thus be entitled to pray longer without interruption. Whatever may be the orgin of the use of coffee, it has become so general up to the present day that it may almost be classed among the articles of the greatest necessity. This extensive use has stimulated the industry of inventors to seek means of rendering it most pleasant to drink, as also its great consumption and high price have awakened both economy and fraud, in order to find a substitute for this agreeable beverage.

In order to supplant coffee, which in Europe was found very expensive, many different means have been tried. About fifty years since the Swiss porter of a nobleman in Paris thought of roasting acorns, which he mixed with roast coffee, ground; he sold it cheaper than any one; all bought it, and the Swiss made his fortune.

The trick, however, being discovered, all sought means of gratifying their taste without emptying their purses; barley and rye began to be mixed with coffee.

In the mountains of Virginia, in America, the inhabitants make a coffee simply of roasted rye; they by these means obtain a beverage in no way resembling coffee, but it goes by that name, and at least the imagination is satisfied.

In Belgium, in the province of Liege, coffee is mixed with wild chicory root. This method, generally known, is at the present time practiced throughout the whole of Europe; and wild chicory root then opened for Liege a new branch of commerce. Lastly, in Flanders some of the inhabitants cultivate the lupin, which they complacently call coffee, and whose seed, roasted, they drink instead of real coffee.

"The infusion of coffee is thought to be beneficial to stout and phlegmatic persons, and for pains in the head; but it appears that its admixture with cream or milk prevents these good effects, on account of the relaxation it thus causes to the stomach. On the contrary, it gives strength when taken pure. It is doubtless for this reason that the inhabitants of the colonies take it three and four times a day—that is, at four o'clock in the morning, a very strong infusion, sometimes without sugar; at breakfast, with milk; after dinner, pure; and often in the afternoon, for the fourth time."—*Beauvais.*

We are unacquainted with the period of the introduction of coffee into Europe. Ranwolf is the first who speaks of coffee, in 1583. Prospero Alpini then came, and described the coffee tree in Egypt by the name of *bon bun* or *boun;* his work appeared in 1591. In 1614 Bacon mentioned this Oriental beverage, and Meissner published a treatise on it in 1621.

It was not, however, until towards the year 1645 that it began to be drunk in Italy. The first cafes were opened in London in 1652, and in Paris in 1669, a time at which a pound of coffee was worth forty crowns. It was principally Soliman Aga, the ambassador from Turkey, who caused coffee to become fashionable in Paris.

It penetrated into Sweden in the year 1674, where it was thought of use in scorbutic diseases. The first person who made trial of coffee with milk, was Nieuhoff, the Dutch ambassador in China, in imitation of tea with milk.

The physical effects of coffee are well known; it accelerates the circulation of the blood, but some times causes palpitation of the heart and giddiness. It has even been thought to occasion apoplexy and paralysis. Nevertheless, celebrated writers—such as Fontenelle and Voltaire—made constant use of it, almost to an abuse. They were told, *it is a slow poison;* it was, indeed, slow for these learned men, who died, one at a hundred, the other eighty-four years of age. However, at the present time coffee is a beverage whose power over our intellectual or moral habits has, perhaps, never been calculated as it deserves, since it has become general, and almost suppressed the drunkenness which disgraced our ancestors at the end of their grand repasts.—*Virey.*

M. Courbet, the French artist, is another instance of a man who awakes one fine morning to find himself famous. For several years past, says the *Pall Mall Gazette*, he has been painting pictures which only now and then were admitted at the *salon*, and of which nobody took any notice. But the tide that leads on to fortune has come at last. This year he sends his "La Femme au Perroquet" to the Exhibition and all at once finds himself the fashion of the hour. He sells this painting for 7,000 fr. A stockbroker gives him 15,000 fr. for a landscape, also in the *salon*, called "La Remise des Chevreuils," adding, at the same time, a commission on equally good terms for a picture of a naked Eve of the same size as the other nude figure teasing the parrot. The "Femmes Damnees," a painting which was refused by the hanging committee three years ago, has also been sold for 12,000 fr., and several landscapes at from 5,000 to 12,000 fr. Courbet's studio is crowded daily with aristocratic visitors, and commissions pour in on him that will keep him busy for years to come. This is a story that contrasts curiously with that of poor Holtzapfel, who put a pistol to his head the other week because he had been painting for years without any recognition of merit and had his pictures of this year rejected at the *salon*. Courbet's case looked just as bad, only he lived on, and the lucky day, it turns out, was close at hand.

REV. DR. WALKER AT THE ALUMNI DINNER OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

You are aware that the President is nominally at the head of all the departments of the University; but you are also aware that nine-tenths of his time and care are really bestowed on the academical department, and furthermore, that this same academical department has more than one point of resemblance to a preparatory or high school. Here is the trouble; and how is it to be met? Whether regard be had to the age or the studies of a large part of the Freshman and Sophomore classes, I am as certain as I am of anything under heaven, that their education might be provided for at the public schools under better advantages, at less expense, and with less moral risk. They come here, and what is the consequence? Of course, there must be the same general methods of government and instruction for all the classes, and hence the necessity of adopting a sort of compromise; that is to say, a system too free for the younger students, who are boys, and not free enough for the older students, who are men.

What we want is that a year or a year and a half more should be added to the studies and the age of those who offer themselves for admission. And this, I have not the shadow of a doubt, will be done; not perhaps to-day nor to-morrow, still it will be done. For a full century the current has been setting in this direction. In the four consecutive years beginning with 1762, the average age of the students on entering College was 16 years and 2 months; in the four consecutive years beginning with 1806, it was 16 years and 4 months; in the four consecutive years beginning with 1820, it was 16 years and 11 months; while in the four consecutive years beginning with 1860, it was 17 years and 8 months. There is also another view to be taken of the comparative ages of the students at different periods, which makes the progress to be still more considerable. In the first of the abovementioned groups of classes, nearly a third were *under* fifteen when they entered; in the second, nearly one half, and in the third, more than a third of the whole number were *under* sixteen. On the other hand, in the fourth and last group, that is to say, in the four consecutive classes beginning with 1860, out of 477 admitted, there was but one under fifteen, and only 18 under sixteen.

This change, I hardly need say, has been brought about, for the most part, by gradually and almost insensibly raising the terms of admission. Let it continue to go on in the same way for a few years longer, and Harvard College will be in a condition to take the stand of leaving all rudimental and drill teaching to the preparatory schools, and open its doors wide to persons of maturity, and to them alone; and as such persons must be presumed to know what high special teaching they are fitted for and require, the voluntary and elective system, without restriction or limitation, will follow as a matter of course. The College proper will no longer be regarded as little better than a preparatory department for the professional and scientific schools, but take its place beside them as an integral part of a proper University, a great and decided step being thus taken for the proper assertion of American literature. After that, if you will pardon the anticlimax, there will probably be fewer ex-Presidents; at any rate, men will not be tempted, in a spirit of exaggeration, to define the presidency as a great office made up of a multitude, which no man can number, of very small duties.

A CHAPTER ON STOCKINGS.

The introduction of silk stockings must have been welcomed heartily by all who could afford to buy them. Mezerai asserts they were first worn by Henry II. of France, at the marriage of his sister in 1559; but before that, Edward VI. had graciously accepted a pair from the merchant-prince, Sir Thomas Gresham, who imported them from Spain, the land where they were first manufactured. The story goes, that a loyal-minded grandee, the happy possessor of one of the first pairs of silk stockings made in Spain, thought he could not do better than present the novel utilities to his queen, and to that end placed them in the hands of the first minister of the crown, greatly to the discomposure of that modest man, who astonished the innocent-meaning noble by returning him his stockings, and bidding him remember that "the queen of Spain had no legs!" Our own Elizabeth, not ashamed to own that she had legs, received a similar gift in a very different manner. Soon after her accession, her majesty's silkwoman, Mistress Montague, tendered as her New Year's gift a pair of knitted black silk stockings,—the first of the kind made in England. Elizabeth lost no time in putting the gift to its proper use, and was so pleased with the result, that she sent for Mrs. Montague, and inquired where she procured such comfortable foot-gear, and if she could get any more like them.

"I made them very carefully, of purpose only for your majesty," replied the silkwoman: "and seeing these please you so well, I will presently set more in hand."

"Do so," quoth the queen; "for indeed I like silk stockings so well, because they are pleasant, fine, and delicate, that henceforth I will wear no more cloth stockings." And she kept her royal word, and would have laughed at the economy of the Margrave John of Custrin, who, seeing one of his councillors wearing silk stockings on a week-day, said to him,—

"Barthold, I have silk stockings too, but I wear them only on Sundays and holidays."

Shakspeare seemingly perpetrates an anachronism when he makes Prince Henry tell Poins he knows he owns but two pair of silk stockings,—the pair on his legs, and those that *were* the peach-colored ones. The many allusions made by Shakspeare prove that the stocking was worn by all classes of people when he wrote his plays. Sir Andrew Aguecheek flatters himself that his leg does indifferent well in a flame-colored stock. Mad Petruchio claims Kate the curst as his bride "with a linen stock on one leg, and a kersey boot-hose on the other, gartered with a red and blue list;" and when he arrives at his home, expects his servants to honor the occasion by welcoming their mistress in their new fustian and their white stockings. Socks and foul stockings contributed towards making Falstaff's buck-basket journey disagreeable; Kit Sly, the drunken cobbler, exclaims: "Never ask me what raiment I'll wear; for I have no more stockings than legs, nor no more shoes than feet;" and Malvolio has immortalized yellow stockings, even should Blue-coat boys forswear them.

According to Stow, the Earl of Pembroke was the first Englishman to encase his legs in home-made knitted worsted stockings. He says that in the year 1564, one Rider, a London 'prentice, taken with the appearance of a pair of wollen stockings he had seen at an Italian merchant's, managed to borrow them for a few days, made a pair exactly like them, and presented them to the earl. There may have been something peculiar enough in the Mantuan hose for Rider to think them worth imitating, but there are strong reasons for believing knitted stockings were by no means such unfamiliar things to English eyes as Stow insinuates. "What need a man care for a stock with a wench, when she can knit him a stock?" ask Launce, in one of Shakspeare's earliest plays. Knitted hose are mentioned in an act of parliament Passed in the reign of Edward VI.; and from the Household Book of Sir Thomas l'Estrange, we find that a pair of knitted hose could be bought, in 1533, for a couple of shillings, while children's stockings of the same sort only cost sixpence a pair,—too low a price, it seems to us, for anything from beyond the seas.

Too Much Reading.—I never knew but one or two fast readers, and readers of many books, whose knowledge was worth anything. Miss Martineau says of herself, that she is the slowest of readers—sometimes a page in an hour; but then, what she reads she makes her own. Do impress this on E——. Girls read too much, and think too little. I will answer for it that there are few girls of eighteen who have not read more books than I have; and as to religious books, I can count on my fingers in two minutes all I have read, but then they are mine. Sir Erskine Perry said the other day that, a fortnight ago, in a conversation with Comte, one of the most profound thinkers in Europe, Comte told him that he had read an incredible small number of books these last twenty years; I forget how many, and scarcely a review. But then, what Comte reads lies there fructifying, and comes out a living tree with leaves and fruit.

Multifarious reading weakens the mind more than doing nothing; for it becomes a necessity at last, like smoking, and is an excuse for the mind to lie dormant, whilst thought is poured in, and runs through, a clear stream, over unproductive gravel, on which not even mosses grow. It is the idlest of all idleness, and leaves more of impotency than any other. I do not give myself as a specimen; for my nervous energies are shattered by stump oratory, its excitement and reactions; but I know what reading is—for I could once, and did, I read hard or not at all, never skimming, never turning aside to mere inviting books; and Plato, Aristotle, Butler, Thucydides, Sterne, Jonathan Edwards, have passed like the iron atoms of the blood into my mental constitution.—*F. W. Robertson.*

THE SOUL'S PROPHECY.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

All before us lies the way;
Give the past unto the wind:
All before us is the day,
Night and darkness are behind.

Eden with its angels bold,
Love and flowers and coolest sea,
Is less on ancient story told,
Than a glowing prophecy.

In the spirit's perfect air,
In the passions tame and kind,
Innocence from selfish care,
The real Eden we shall find.

When the soul to sin hath died,
True and beautiful and sound,
Then all earth is sanctified,
Up springs paradise around.

From the spirit-land afar
All disturbing force shall flee;
Stir, nor toil, nor hope shall mar
Its immortal unity.

IN OPPOSITION TO "FEMALE" EDUCATION.

From the Chicago Journal.

The Trustees of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., have resolved to drop the word "female," which disfigured the name of their noble seat of learning. This is a step in the right direction and a pleasing sign of the times.

We are entering on a new era in the education of woman. The platform upon which that education is professedly conducted by the professed champions of this sublime cause is, The absolute equality of woman with man in all things that pertain to educational advantages and intellectual pursuits. This position must be taken in order to a fair and full test of the question in dispute, and taken it is. What a come-down it is, then, to bring the flag down. And certainly it is taking the flag down, or, what is more equivalent, it is sadly streaking it with white by wording it "female." It is a concession to the effect that, after all the claims and pretentions set up for woman by her educators, she is not equal to the mastery of the same curriculum which a boy is required to master in order to secure a college diploma and its accompanying degree. It is conceding that education has a sex, and may be "male" or "female" according to the capacities of those who appropriate it. It is, in short, a surrender of the whole matter in dispute, which is, that education knows no sex; that a college is a college whether its pupils be of the masculine or feminine gender. Does an oak become a "female" tree when a company of young ladies assemble under its bows? No more does a college, if it *is* a college, become a "female" concern when young ladies occupy the benches of its class rooms. And there is no more propriety in saying "female" than "male" college. Harvard male college is no more of an impropriety of speech than Fassar Female College; while one has to be only ordinarily chivalrous respecting the sex to which his mother and wife belong, to recoil with a violent feeling of disgust from the application of the very animal word "female" to woman or her work.

The truth is, the thread-bare phraseology "female education," is no less significant of the small ideas that have prevailed hitherto with reference to the cause for which it stands. The education of a woman has only too long been a "female," a feminine, a peurile one, while the opposite sort was, and is, her great necessity. That necessity it is now proposed to meet. Let it be met. Let the curriculum laid down for young women be precisely that laid down for young men, and let all the educational advantages and opportunities furnished the one be secured to the other, and let us see whether the sex, which, with all its disabilities of hundreds of years' standing, has given the world the world-renowned names of Madame de Stael, Mrs. Browning and Miss Hosmer, is capable, with all disabilities removed, of still further adding lustre to the pages that contain the memorable deeds of memorable minds.

The Archangel's Trump.—A good story in Paris is told at the expense of a very handsome and rich widow of most exemplary character, who has a small and elegant retreat at Versailles, in addition to her town residence. At this pretty rurality she was passing a week at the close of the Autumn, having for her guest a lad in his teens, who was a distant relative, and who was thus passing his vacation from school. Madam's housekeeper and cook was a respectable female, who, however, had an admirer, a trumpeter, stationed in the barracks near by, and the stolen pleasure of whom was to come in and dine stealthily on the remaining dishes of the mistress's luxuriant table.

Madam and her boy relative having started after dinner for a walk, the trumpeter took advantage of the absence, but unluckily prolonged his meal a few minutes too long. In his hurry to conceal himself when taken by surprise, he became ensconced under the bed of the lady of the house, thinking to escape while she passed the evening in her drawing-room as usual. Madam was tired with her walk, however, and proceeded to retire for the night immediately on her return.

The trumpeter, in full uniform, with his brazen instrument beside him, was of course in a position of considerable dismay. As he lay racking his brain, the door suddenly opened, and in walked the schoolboy, who, to the astonishment of the lady, fell on his knees, and made a tumultuous declaration of love!

"In the name of heaven," cried the astonished object of his passion, "rise and leave the room immediately! What would be thought of me if you were seen in this indiscreet situation and posture! Rise this moment and retire!"

"No!" firmly persisted the academical, "I live but to love you! No power on earth shall tear me from this spot—no—no not even if the trump of the last day—"

At this moment the trumpeter, whose lips were at the edge of his instrument, blew a blast, into which was poured the overwhelming torrent of his previous impatience. "*Trrrrr—ta ta ta ta ta*"—a thunder-blast, to which the walls of the little cottage trembled to their foundation.

The room was vacated by dame and lover in a trice, and the trumpeter made his escape; but the story got wind, and, without name or place, was told all over Paris.

It was being narrated one evening by a gay man, in a small circle, when the narrator remarked:

"I would have given anything in the world to have seen the face of the lady at the moment of the trumpet's sounding."

"The face of the boy on his knees was much better worth seeing, I assure you!" exclaimed in a tone of pique, a lady among the listeners—unguardedly revealing, by this hasty comment, that she was, herself, the heroine of the story!

A Fast Story.—An Englishman was bragging of the speed on English railroads to a Yankee traveller seated at his side, in one of the cars of a "fast train" in England. The Engine bell was rung as the cars neared a station. It suggested to the Yankee an opportunity of "taking down his companion a peg or two."

"What's that noise?" innocently inquired the Yankee.

"We are approaching a town," said the Englishman; "they have to commence ringing about ten miles before they get to a station, or else the train would run by it before the bell could be heard! Wonderful, isn't it? I suppose they haven't invented bells in America yet?"

"Why, yes," replied the Yankee, "we've got bells, but can't use them on our railroads. We run so fast that the train always keeps ahead of the sound; no use whatever. The sound never reaches the village till after the train gets by."

"Indeed!" exclaimed the Englishman.

"Fact," said the Yankee—"had to give up bells. Then we tried steam whistles; but they wouldn't answer, either. I was on a locomotive when the whistle was tried. We were going at a tremendous rate; hurricanes were nowhar, and I had to hold my hair on. We saw a two-horse wagon crossing the track, about five miles ahead, and the engineer let the whistle on, screeching like a trooper. It screamed awfully; but it wasn't no use. The next thing I knew, I was picking myself out of a pond by the roadside, amid the fragments of the locomotive, dead horses, broken wagon, and dead engineer lying beside me. Just then the whistle came along, mixed up with some frightful oaths that I had heard the engineer use when he first saw the horses. Poor fellow! he was dead before his voice got to him. After that we tried *lights*, supposing these would travel faster than sound. We got one so powerful that the chickens woke up all along the road when we came by, supposing it to be morning. But the locomotive kept ahead of it still, and was in the darkness with the light close on behind it. The inhabitants petitioned against it; they couldn't sleep with so much light in the night-time. Finally we had to station electric telegraphs along the road, with signal men to telegraph when the train was in sight; and I *have* heard that some of the *fast* trains beat the lightning fifteen minutes every forty miles. But I can't say as *that is true;* the rest I know to be so."

A FEW FACTS ABOUT CELEBATED MEN.

Some literary men make good men of business. According to Pope, the principal object of Shakspeare in cultivating literature, was to secure an honest independence. He succeeded so well in the accomplishment of this purpose, that at a comparatively early age, he had realized a sufficient competency to enable him to retire to his native town of Stratford-upon-Avon. Chaucer was in early life a soldier, and afterwards a commissioner of customs and inspector of woods and crown lands. Spencer was secretary to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and is said to have been shrewd and sagacious in the management of affairs. Milton was secretary to the Council of State during the Commonwealth, and gave abundant evidence of his energy and usefulness in that office. Sir Isaac Newton was a most efficient Master of the Mint. Wordsworth was a distributor of stamps; and Sir Walter Scott a clerk of the Court of Sessions—both uniting a genius for poetry, with punctual and practical habits as men of business. Ricardo was no less distinguished as a sagacious banker than a lucid expounder of the principles of political economy. Grote, the most profound historian of Greece, is also a London banker. John Stuart Mill, not surpassed by any living thinker in profoundness of speculation, lately retired from the examiner's department in the East India Company, with the admiration of his colleagues for the rare ability with which he had conducted the business of the department.

Alexander Murray, the distinguished linguist, learned to write by scribbling his letters on an old wool card with the end of a burnt heather-stem. Professor Moore, when a young man, being too poor to purchase Newton's "Principia," borrowed the book, and copied the whole of it with his own hand. William Cobbett made himself master of English Grammar when he was a private soldier on the pay of sixpence a day. The edge of his berth or that of his guard-bed was his seat to study in; a bit of board lying on his lap was his writing table; and the evening light of the fire his substitute for candle or oil. Even advanced age, in many interesting cases, has not proved fatal to literary success. Sir Henry Spelman was between fifty and sixty when he began the study of science. Franklin was fifty before he fully engaged in the researches in natural philosophy which have made his name immortal. Boccacio was thirty-five when he entered upon his literary career; and Alfieri was forty-six when he commenced the study of Greek. Dr. Arnold learned German at forty, for the sake of reading Niebuhr in the original. James Watt, at about the same age, while working at his trade of an instrument maker in Glasgow, made himself acquainted with French, German and Italian, in order to pursue the valuable works in those languages on mechanical philosophy. Handel was forty-eight before he published any of his great works.

Nor are the examples of rare occurrence in which apparently natural defects, in early life, have been overcome by a subsequent devotion to knowledge. Sir Isaac Newton, when at school, stood at the bottom of the lowermost form but one. Barrow, the great English divine and mathematician, when a boy at the Charterhouse School, was notorious for his idleness and indifference to study. Adam Clark, in his boyhood, was proclaimed by his father to be a grievous dunce. Even Dean Swift made a disastrous failure at the University. Sheridan was presented by his mother to a tutor as an incorrigible dunce. Walter Scott was a dull boy at his lessons, and while a student at Edinburgh University received his sentence from Professor Dalzell, the celebrated Greek scholar, that "dunce he was, and dunce he would remain." Chatterton was returned on his mother's hands, as "a fool, of whom nothing could be made." Wellington never gave any indications of talent until he was brought into the field of practical effort, and was described by his strong-minded mother, who thought him little better than an idiot, as fit only to be "food for powder."—*Scientific American.*

Views of Public Life.—Guizot, the great French statesman, gives, in the third volume of his Memoirs, the following estimate of the insufficiency and hollowness of public life. It is a modern commentary on the "vanity of vanities" of the wisest of ancient monarchs:

"I have been strongly attached to political life, and have applied myself to it with ardor. I have devoted to public duties, without hesitation, the sacrifices and efforts they demand from me; but these pursuits have ever been far, indeed, from satisfying my desires. It is not that I complain of the incidental trials. Many public servants have spoken with bitterness of the disappointments they have undergone, the services of fortune, and the ingratitude of men. I have nothing of the kind to say; for I have never acknowledged such sentiments. However violent I may have been stricken, I have never found men more blind or ungrateful, or my political destiny more harsh than I expected. It has given alternately, and in great abundance, its joys and sorrows; such is the law of humanity. But it has been in the happiest days, and in the most brilliant successes of my career, that I have found the inefficiency of public life. The political world is cold and calculating; the affairs of government are lofty, and powerfully impress the thought; but they cannot fill the soul, which has often more varied and more pressing aspirations than those of the most ambitious politician. It longs for a happiness more intimate, more complete, and more tender than that which all the labors and triumphs of active exertion and public importance can bestow. What I know to-day at the end of my race, I have felt when it began, and during its continuance; even in the midst of great undertakings domestic affections form the basis of life; and the most brilliant career has only superficial and incomplete enjoyment if a stranger to the happy ties of family and friendship."

Garibaldi.—One of the correspondents who visited Garibaldi at Como says: "I was surprised to see a hearty, jovial man, with a great blonde beard. But for the eye-glass he used, and the stick he carried, there were no traces visible of the waves of Time which have dashed against him, or of the cruel bullet which struck him at Aspromonte. He gave me his hand, and a hearty, sailor-like grip into the bargain; and if it be snobbish to have wished to kiss that horny paw, I am glad to have been, for once in my life at all events, a snob most egregious. I suppose he wore the renowned red shirt; but this garment was not visible. His upper man was all swathed in one of those ample striped blankets, through a hole in which the head is passed, and which are called in some parts of South America *gregos* and Mexico *serapes*. As a head-dress he wore a velvet cap of the pork-pie form, and very coquettishly worked with gold embroidery. And if there be no peril of falling into the Bathos by alluding to a hero's boots—I think there is no such peril; for are not the boots of Napoleon an inseparable part of his entity? I may mention that Garibaldi's extremities were shod in 'double soled, square-toed, lace-ups,' the possession of a pair of which would have instilled great joy into the heart of a British clod-hopper, but which would scarcely have excited the admiration of Silverstick in Waiting."

A Glance at the British House of Lords.—A correspondent abroad of the Providence *Journal*, in sketching a recent visit to the British House of Peers, says:

"The peers were lounging about in a careless manner with their hats on, and some of them very shabby at the best. In the strangers' gallery there were about a dozen persons. An Englishman at my elbow, who seemed to be pretty well acquainted with the leading personages, was kind enough to indicate them to me as they entered. When poor Lord Brougham tottered to his seat I was no longer surprised at his conduct during the American war. At the age of eighty, he is reduced to a condition of sentility so melancholy, that I should think there was no extreme of folly which he was not capable of falling into. Let us forgive the poor old man, broken down with infirmities, both physical and mental, and remember only Henry Brougham in his best days. There he sat with his hat slouched over his eyes, wearing an old pair of Scotch checked trowers, not a bit more decent than those worn by the hackney coach-drivers in Old Palace Yard. I did not expect to find so little affectation of dress among the first gentlemen of the Kingdom.

There is yet standing, near Oxford street, London, a very old sign of "David Williams, Eye Painter." Antiquarians, after long puzzling over this, have discovered that it refers to a period of society when gentlemen had so many rows and fights that black eyes were common; and the artist found it a sufficient employment to paint such bruises to a flesh color, in order that gentlemen might go into company without remark.

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